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THE
INDEPENDENTS
OF
MASSACHUSETTS
IN
1884.

BY
London
RAYMOND L. BRIDGMAN.

BOSTON:
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THE INDEPENDENTS OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN 1884.

THE ISSUE OF THE CAMPAIGN.

THE Presidential campaign of 1884 will be memorable because it established the position that party ties do not bind the conscience of the voter. It was fought by the Independent Republicans upon the ground that they would not support a nomination which they believed — with or without reason — to be unfit. Rightly or wrongly, a large number of Republicans believed that the nominee of their party was unworthy of their support. They did not question the fairness of his nomination. No objection could be taken to the regularity of the proceedings in the convention which nominated him. He was the choice of the party, according to the usual form of expression. After he was nominated came the questions to the individual voters, whether they should support him, whether they were bound by the formal and unanimous action of their party convention. Enough of them to decide the election in favor of the opposing candidate refused to be thus bound. The revolt against party discipline was widespread, and the action of the Independent Republicans marks an epoch in national politics. No similar occurrence can be found in our history. Never before has the Presidential candidate of a great party been opposed by a formidable portion of its members on the ground that he was unworthy of the honor for which he was named, and unsuited to the responsibilities of the office to which he aspired. When the Republican party was formed, it rallied about a principle. The Republican opponents of Mr. Blaine were divided upon the most important questions of national

administration, and were united only in the position that they would not support for President a man whom they believed to be unworthy. The opposition to General Grant in 1872, though inspired by motives similar to those which actuated the Independents of 1884, yet resulted in such a pitiable failure at the polls as to make the campaign of that year memorable only as a warning and discouragement to all who would join a similar movement in the future. But the election of 1884 was a triumph for the Independents. The country feels the effect of the protest made against a nomination deemed to be improper. A positive gain cannot but result. A strong belief that a proposed candidate is unfit, when held by a large minority of the party, will deter the party leaders from nominating him. An issue never before raised has been settled, and the country is in advance of any former position. One thing has been established, — that party allegiance does not supersede the duty of private judgment.

This achievement is due to the earnest and effective work of those who believed that Mr. Blaine's election would be an injury to the country. Much was done in Massachusetts, and the following pages will give a brief outline of the growth, the management, and the result of the Independent movement in the State.

FORMAL ACTION TAKEN. .

The record of the Massachusetts Independent movement runs as follows : —

On the afternoon of Saturday, June 7, the day after Blaine's nomination, the Massachusetts Reform Club meets in Boston, at Parker's. The president, Mr. John S. Farlow, of Newton, is in the chair. About forty members are present, and Messrs. Joseph O. Burdett, Arthur Lincoln, and John Ritchie are there as guests. At this meeting the following letter is read from Mr. Charles Francis Adams, Jr. : —

ADAMS BUILDING, 23 COURT STREET,
BOSTON, June 7, 1884.

My dear Sir, — I received your notice of the Reform Club dinner this afternoon, and in view of the nominations of yesterday, which are to be the subject of your discussions to-day, I regret extremely my inability to be present. I presume there is no question as to the attitude of the members of the Reform Club toward the Republican nominations. We will at once organize to defeat them. On this point, it seems to me, our response can-

not be too explicit or our action too quick. Steps should be taken with the least possible delay to enable us to exert whatever influence we can on the other and coming convention. We have now less than no standing before that convention, for Massachusetts goes to it, pledged to the support of her own political mountebank, whose nomination would virtually drive many of us, as a choice of evils, to vote for Blaine. We should do what we can to prevent this, and we can do much. Could the Democratic party be galvanized into that degree of momentary good sense which would lead it for once to astonish the country and itself, by putting forward such a ticket as Cleveland and Carlisle, the result in November would not be in doubt for a moment. Experience tells us that the task is desperate, but so is the situation. Blaine is the other horn of our dilemma. If we will, we can do more than we now think, to galvanize even the Democracy. But to do it we must act. I hope, therefore, that immediate steps will be taken under the auspices of the Reform Club, toward calling a conference of those who think as we think. We must be represented at Chicago in Ju'y. If we fail there also, then, as what the Italians call *forestieri*, or dwellers in the woods, so far as I now can see, we must meet together in the sylvan shades and name our own men, for whom we will cast a self-respecting vote.

I am, etc.,

CHARLES F. ADAMS, JR.

JOHN W. CARTER, Esq, Boston.

On motion of Mr. Winslow Warren, the following votes are adopted unanimously : —

Voted, That the Massachusetts Reform Club regards the nomination of Messrs. Blaine and Logan by the Republican party as a distinct and unqualified repudiation of all its professions of reform, and as an insult to the conscience of the country, and that the members of the club will under no circumstances support them.

Voted, That the Independent voters throughout the country be requested to join with us in active and immediate efforts to secure the nomination by the Democratic party of such men as can command our support, and that, failing such nominations, a convention be called at the earliest practicable date, of independent men, without distinction of party, to nominate candidates in full sympathy with the reform sentiment of the country.

Voted, That a committee consisting of the president and Messrs. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Edward Atkinson, Moorfield Storey, Leverett Saltonstall, Jabez Fox, Henry W. Lamb, William Everett, James Freeman Clarke, John C. Dodge, Richard H. Dana, Josiah Quincy, John W. Carter, Winslow Warren, T. Wentworth Higgins, F. F. Raymond, 2d, F. G. Stimson, George C. Hodges, and Archibald M. Howe be appointed, with full powers,

to take such steps, by correspondence or otherwise, as they may deem best calculated to carry into effect the foregoing votes, and that they be authorized to increase their numbers if desired, and to co-operate with organizations of Independent Republicans or others to secure candidates pledged to reform."

On motion of Col. T. W. Higginson, the following is adopted : —

"*Resolved*, That the foregoing committee be instructed to call a meeting in Boston at as early a day as possible, to express the opinion of independent voters in this vicinity in regard to the recent Chicago nominations, and to prepare for future action."

New York Independents send telegraphic despatches to the club, asking for a speedy conference to take action repudiating the Republican nominations, and to prepare for further effort.

THE PUBLIC CALL.

On the afternoon of the following Monday, that committee meets at the office of Mr. Josiah Quincy. They vote to increase their number, and issue a printed call, asking all who sympathize with them to aid in the work. One or two subsequent meetings are held, at which a public gathering is decided upon. They issue, in the Boston morning papers of June 13, this call for the meeting : —

"We, the undersigned, Republican and Independent voters of Massachusetts, believing that only men of high character should be elected to high office, and that the nominations just made at Chicago ought not to be supported in any contingency that now seems likely to arise, invite those who think with us on this point to meet in the old dining-room at Young's Hotel, Boston, on Friday, June 13, at 3.30 p. m., to consider what action to take in opposition to these nominations.

Henry L. Pierce, Charles R. Codman, William Endicott, Jr., Henry Lee, James Freeman Clarke, John S. Farlow, Moorfield Storey, T. W. Higginson, Jabez Fox, Richard H. Dana, William Everett, Samuel H. Scudder, Archibald M. Howe, Edward Atkinson, Josiah Quincy, Winslow Warren, Phineas Pierce, James B. Thayer, Francis J. Child, Charles W. Eliot," and many others to the number of about fourteen hundred.

Numerous letters from strong Republicans in sympathy with the movement are added. The revolt against Blaine's nomination is at once seen to be formidable both in numbers and in the Republican record of its leaders.

THE MEIONAON MEETING.

Before the hour of meeting it becomes so evident that the dining-hall will be far too small, that the Meionaon is secured. That hall is crowded to overflowing. Sympathizers and opponents are both present. An earnest opposition to Mr. Blaine is manifested, especially in the speeches of Colonel Charles R. Codman, who presides, and of the Rev. James Freeman Clarke. The Hon. Henry L. Pierce calls to order, saying : —

"We have met to perform a most important duty, and I join with you most heartily to express my disapproval of the nominations made at Chicago. They are not up to the high standard of the Republican party. I regret, as much as any one, the train of events which has brought this about, but it is incumbent on those who desire a government free from jobbery, free from 'jingoism,' to protest against the candidates presented to us."

Colonel Codman's weightiest words are these : —

"We are met here upon one of the most important occasions on which American citizens may take counsel. We are met to take action on what perhaps may be a new political departure. We are here, most of us men who have been members of the Republican party, proposing not to support the candidate of that party for the Presidency of the United States. . . . For the first time in the history of this country, a party has ventured to put in nomination a man who is believed, when in office, to have used his office for personal emolument. Was ever such a nomination made before? I will not enter into the question how far these accusations were true. I will only say that political parties hitherto have held that their candidates for the Presidency, like Cæsar's wife, should be above suspicion. . . . When a great party which holds office becomes unfaithful, what are we to do? [Cries of 'Leave it,' answered by cries of 'No, no.'] First, we are to see whether the great opposition party is fit to take its place. Now I will frankly say I have no fear of the future of this country, no matter what political party gets into power. Don't tell me that ruin awaits us if for four years we have a Democratic President. The Democratic party has its opportunity now. I suppose we may say we have no favors to ask and no bargains to make. But we say that there are statesmen in the ranks of the Democratic party for whom Independent Republicans may vote and not blush when they do it. If the Democratic party want our votes, they know how they are to be obtained. If they do not, we know how to withhold them. It may be that that party will offer the country worthy candidates; but whether they do or not, there is one right which freemen always have, and that is to vote as they please. It may be our duty to stand up and be counted

as an Independent party. [Extraordinary applause.] I know that third parties are apt to be short-lived, but sometimes, before they die, they do great things."

Vigorous applause greets the emphatic utterances of the Rev. James Freeman Clarke:—

"The candidate chosen there [at Chicago] stands for the representative, the type of those measures, of that conduct, which we consider disreputable. Personally I have nothing to say against Mr. Blaine, but somehow or other he is surrounded by all the rascality and riff-raff of the Republican party. They are all in his favor, and that is a good reason why those who believe in a sound party should be opposed to him. . . . I, for one, have always voted the Republican ticket, but next November I shall vote for the best man, whether he be a Republican or Democrat. What we have to do is to show the Democrats that there is a large body of Independent voters who are willing to vote for a good and trustworthy man. That is the use of an Independent party. They are not to go out of it entirely, but to go out for a time to chastise the old party. If I should vote the electoral ticket of the Democratic party next November, it doesn't follow that I vote for the other Democratic officers, and I don't see how we shall do much harm if we do have a Democratic President and, perhaps, a Republican Congress. It is one of the worst things to have a man vote for a candidate because he is the party's candidate. for he says to any rogue, that if he will go forward and get the nomination, then every honest man will vote for him. And these rogues are just the ones who can get themselves put forward by wire-pulling. But if we say to these rogues, that they will be beaten at the polls, even if they do get the upper hand at the primaries, then they will look after the Independent vote."

Colonel T. W. Higginson thus tells of his confidence in the Democratic party:—

"I have only to say that, for one, I have no fears of any possible result into which this meeting may lead me. I am not afraid that that Democratic party which has never for years back, whatever its faults, nominated for the Presidency any man who was n't, at the time at least, supposed to be a clean man, I am not afraid, I say, that that party has so far lost its head as to make a fool of itself now in its nominations. Whatever the past of a party which still retains in its list men like Cleveland [prolonged cheers] and Bayard [cheers], of that party we can't afford to speak in contempt."

Colonel Higginson then presents the following resolutions:—

"Whereas, We are met in conference as Republicans and Independents of Massachusetts to take action in opposition to the nomination of James G.

Blaine for President and John A. Logan for Vice-President of the United States; and

Whereas, These candidates were named in absolute disregard of the reform sentiment of the nation, and represent political methods and principles to which we are unalterably opposed;

Resolved, That it is our conviction that the country will be better served by opposing these nominations than by supporting them.

Resolved, That we look with solicitude to the coming nominations by the Democratic party; they have the proper men; we hope they will put them before the people for election.

Resolved, That an executive committee of one hundred be appointed, with full powers.

Resolved, That whatever action be taken by the Democratic party in Chicago, we, as Republicans and Independents, direct our committee to call a convention, in such manner as they may deem expedient, after the Democratic candidates have been nominated, and not later than August 1, to take such further action as may to them seem necessary to carry the sense of this meeting into practical effect."

When all of the resolutions but the last have been adopted, President Eliot, of Harvard College, says:—

"I rise to second this resolution as originally read. And yet I must confess it will be only by the dispensation of Providence that the Democratic party will give us the candidate we want. If we can put on our platform their candidates, it will be better for them and perfectly satisfactory for us. But political progress is to be made only by a conflict of national parties, and, as a rule, of two national parties. And, therefore, I hope that out of this meeting will grow a new party, as one was grown years ago. I know that the young men of this country are sick to death of the demagoging policy of the parties of to-day. But we want not an Independent party. An Independent is one balancing between the two parties. We want to found a new party in our country, a party of national principles, and one which can look forward to a national triumph."

The resolutions are adopted, the first and third unanimously, but there are some "noes" to the second and fourth.

Mr. A. J. C. Sowdon moves the appointment of a committee of seven to nominate a committee of one hundred, and the following are appointed: A. J. C. Sowdon, J. B. Gardner, Josiah Quincy, James M. Bugbee, Jabez Fox, A. D. Bosson, Grenville H. Norcross.

Mr. George V. Leverett moves the appointment of a committee of five to nominate twenty-five men to proceed to New York to meet the Independent Republicans of New York on June 17, and the fol-

lowing are appointed: George V. Leverett, George F. Williams, F. F. Raymond, 2d, William Smith, Alfred D. Foster.

The Committee of One Hundred is reported as follows:—

Charles R. Codman, Barnstable; Charles W. Eliot, Cambridge; James Freeman Clarke, Boston; Martin Brimmer, Boston; Julius H. Seelye, Amherst; T. W. Higginson, Cambridge; William Endicott, Jr, Boston; Henry Lee, Boston; Henry L. Pierce, Boston; John Felt Osgood, Boston; Edward Atkinson, Brookline; William Perkins, Boston; Ezra Farnsworth, Boston; Phineas Pierce, Boston; Alexander Cochrane, Boston; Charles F. Adams, Jr., Quincy; John C. Dodge, Cambridge; Francis E. Parker, Boston; John S. Farlow, Newton; Samuel M. Quincy, Boston; Moses Williams, Brookline; Henry W. Putnam, Boston; Moorfield Storey, Brookline; James M. Bugbee, Boston; James B. Thayer, Cambridge; Charles F. Walcott, Cambridge; E. P. Nettleton, Boston; J. Huntington Wolcott, Milton; Darwin E. Ware, Boston; Theodore Lyman, Brookline; Estes Howe, Cambridge; Stanton Blake, Boston; Francis A. Osborn, Boston; Stephen M. Weld, Dedham; William H. Forbes, Milton; Charles P. Bowditch, Boston; Samuel Hoar, Concord; Albert D. Otis, Boston; William Everett, Quincy; J. B. Gardner, Boston; Richard H. Dana, Boston; Jabez Fox, Cambridge; H. W. Chaplin, Boston; Josiah Quincy, Quincy; Benjamin Kimball, Cambridge; A. J. C. Sowdon, Boston; George S. Hale, Boston; George C. Hodges, Lincoln; George V. Leverett, Cambridge; F. F. Raymond, 2d, Newton; Robert S. Russell, Boston; Osborn Howes, Jr., Boston; Gustav Magnitsky, Boston; Carl Schoenhof, Boston; Archibald M. Howe, Cambridge; F. J. Stimson, Dedham; Hamilton A. Hill, Boston; William Simes, Boston; James Means, Boston; Oliver W. Peabody, Milton; George William Bond, Boston; Avery Plumer, Boston; Henry Whitman, Boston; W. F. Lawrence, West Newton; Henry H. Buck, Boston; Benjamin F. Nourse, Boston; Charles A. Burdett, Boston; J. B. Moors, Boston; Alfred D. Foster, Boston; J. L. Bremer, Boston; W. B. Rice, Quincy; Thomas Mack, Boston; Charles B. Fox, Boston; N. W. Rice, Boston; Gamaliel Bradford, Cambridge; Charles M. Barnes, Boston; John Ritchie, Winthrop; R. T. Babson, Gloucester; Stephen Thacher, Newton; Albert A. Pope, Boston; Henry O. Sawyer, West Boylston; William H. Fox, Taunton; George G. Wright, Cambridge; H. E. Bothfeld, Newton; Charles C. Jackson, Boston; E. T. Burley, Lawrence; Grenville H. Norcross, Boston; H. B. Little, Newburyport; George F. Williams, Dedham; Francis Blake, Weston; A. D. Bosson, Chelsea; John J. French, Boston; Thomas F. Edmands, Boston; J. E. Brown, Hyde Park; Charles E. Powers, Boston; Thomas Blanchard, Stoughton; Henry H. Fay, Falmouth; Edward Burnett, Southboro; Louis P. Hollander, Somerville.

A few changes are afterward made, but the list remains substantially the same for the campaign. These are the Committee of Twenty-five:—

Charles R. Codman, Julius H. Seelye, Theodore Lyman, Henry L. Pierce, T. W. Higginson, Stephen M. Weld, James B. Thayer, Phineas Pierce, Moorfield Storey, Josiah Quincy, Jabez Fox, A. J. C. Sowdon, Dr. William Everett, R. H. Dana, F. J. Stimson, George Clarendon Hodges, F. F. Raymond, 2d, Henry W. Putnam, Archibald M. Howe, Francis A. Osborn, Osborn Howes, Jr., Samuel Hoar, Edward Burnett, E. M. Wheelwright, Albert A. Pope.

PREPARING FOR EARNEST WORK.

June 16, the first meeting of the Committee of One Hundred is held. President Eliot is temporary chairman; Mr. Darwin E. Ware, permanent chairman; Colonel Charles R. Codman is made president of the committee; and the Hon. George S. Hale, vice-president. An Executive Committee is chosen, with full powers to act, with the exception that they are not empowered to call a convention. The list of this committee includes these names:—

Darwin E. Ware, chairman; Moses Williams, secretary; William H. Forbes, Samuel Hoar, Moorfield Storey, Phineas Pierce, Jabez Fox, George V. Leverett, F. F. Raymond, 2d, Charles B. Fox, Stephen M. Weld, Samuel M. Quincy, Winslow Warren, George Fred Williams, Charles C. Jackson, Archibald M. Howe, A. J. C. Sowdon, Emil Heidenreich.

By a good fortune, as singular as it is desirable, the Executive Committee proves to be a remarkably harmonious body. It is of noticeable evenness of composition. No man is its leader, and no man is eclipsed by others. Each brings to the meetings a persistence in his own way, until he wins the others to his side, or he is won to theirs, and it is a good proof of the unity of the committee that every vote which is passed, from organization to election, is unanimous. There is no dissenting minority and no division into factions among them.

THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

The membership of the National Committee is as follows:—

From New York—Carl Schurz, Theodore Bacon, John H. Cowing, Charles P. Miller, R. R. Bowker, George W. Folsom, Ethan Allen Doty, George Walton Green, Horace E. Deming. *From Massachusetts*—

William H. Forbes, Joseph Tucker, Joseph H. Walker, Samuel Hoar, Phineas Pierce, George V. Leverett, Winslow Warren. *From Connecticut* — Simeon E. Baldwin, C. P. Armstrong, Henry W. Farnum. *From New Jersey* — Daniel Drake Smith, Simeon Huntington, W. G. Peckham. *From Pennsylvania* — Francis B. Reeves, Stuart Wood, Joseph Parrish. *From Illinois* — James F. Claffin. Secretary, George Walton Green; treasurer, George W. Folsom; executive committee, Horace E. Deming (chairman), George Walton Green (secretary), Charles P. Miller, R. R. Bowker, George W. Folsom, Ethan Allen Doty, and Lawrence Kneeland, of New York; William H. Forbes, of Massachusetts; Morris F. Tyler, of Connecticut; Herbert B. Turner, of New Jersey; and Stuart Wood, of Pennsylvania.

EARLY MEETINGS AND ORGANIZATION.

The second day after the New York conference, beginning with June 19, daily meetings of this committee are held with closed doors. Little intimation of their action or discussions is given to the newspapers. They meet on the fifth floor of No. 40 State Street, in a vacant room, and work quietly, but as rapidly as possible. One of the first questions which they consider is whether they shall pay any poll taxes, and they decide it unanimously in the negative. They appoint a Finance Committee, consisting of Alexander Cochrane, Francis A. Osborn, Charles P. Bowditch, Moses Williams, Charles C. Jackson, George G. Wright, and Grenville H. Norcross.

At the same meeting a committee is appointed to prepare a printed letter-head and a circular letter, and also to fill vacancies which may occur in the Committee of One Hundred. Mr. Moorfield Storey and others to be selected by him are made a Committee on Publications. Mr. Samuel Hoar and others are appointed a Committee on Canvassing, and on the selection of agents throughout New England.

At the next day's meeting some details of the organization are perfected. June 21 they vote to hold sessions at the headquarters at one o'clock daily. June 26, letters come from Melrose and Medford expressing a desire to coöperate. Mr. Winslow Warren is added to the Committee of One Hundred and to the Executive Committee, and Mr. Charles C. Jackson, two days afterward, is added to the latter committee.

THE CAMPAIGN HEADQUARTERS.

June 24, headquarters are opened at No. 166 Washington Street. The rooms are plain, compared with the handsome domicile of the regular Republicans on Park Street. Go up a narrow flight of stairs at No. 166, within half a stone's throw of the statue of Samuel Adams in Dock Square, and one is in the front half of the second floor which is devoted to the committee's work. This is separated by a plain partition, newly put in, from the rear half which looks out on Devonshire Street. In this front room, all through the campaign, when it has been open, has been gathered a crowd of visitors, nearly every man of them eager to talk politics. Newspaper files are hung upon the walls, and lie upon the tables at each side. There are the Boston *Herald*, *Advertiser*, *Transcript*, *Globe*, *Post*, *Journal*, and *Traveller*, (of which only the last two supported Mr. Blaine), the New York *Evening Post*, *Times*, *Tribune*, *Herald*, *World*, and *Sun*, the Springfield *Republican*, *Puck*, Harper's *Weekly*, and a few others. They are constantly in demand, and are frequently worn to tatters. In the eastern half of the floor, within the door marked "Private," are the tables for the mailing clerks, usually piled high with documents. Behind the rail in the northeast corner sits the corresponding secretary, Mr. J. B. Gardner, always crowded with business, to whose skilful and untiring labors in attending to the details of the management are due the rapid efficiency of the work and the lack of friction which have so largely characterized the despatch of business. Within the little room in the southeast corner is usually to be found the chairman of the committee, Mr. George Fred Williams, or his deputy, Mr. A. J. C. Sowdon. Meetings of the committee are held in the larger apartment. Chairs are drawn up in a circle, or as best suits the fancy, and the discussions are thus carried on which have such an important effect upon the national life. Here is done that work which encourages and inspires the brethren in New York, and leads to the well-grounded belief that, had it not been for the effect of Massachusetts, the Empire State would have cast its vote for Blaine. Here the several steps of the organization are carefully discussed, and the result shows that, although the old-time politicians ridicule them, yet the young men can for once at least give their opponents some excellent advice on "How to manage a Campaign."

INTEREST INCREASING.

June 30, the pressure of the one question of the campaign begins to be felt, and Mr. Storey is requested to state what he can give regarding Mr. Blaine's record, but no material is yet ready for publication. July 2, Mr. J. B. Gardner is appointed corresponding secretary with Mr. George Clarendon Hodges as assistant, while Mr. Moses Williams remains general secretary as before. July 3, the secretary is authorized to prepare pamphlets for distribution.

On the 7th the chairman, secretary, and Mr. William H. Forbes are appointed as a committee to draw up a plan of action to be taken after the Democratic nomination.

Meanwhile the anti-Blaine Republicans are becoming numerous and active in other places than Boston, and the Executive Committee give their active co-operation. July 1, a public rally occurs in Quincy, with addresses by Josiah Quincy and others, opposing Mr. Blaine on the ground that he is an unfit man for the Presidency, and urging that the chief issue of the campaign is the character of the Presidential nominees.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ANTICIPATED.

July 9, the second day of the Democratic National Convention at Chicago, the committee votes that the chairman and secretary be instructed to confer by telegraph, on receipt of the Chicago nominations, with the anti-Blaine Republicans and Independents in New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, Buffalo, St. Louis, and other places in regard to holding a national conference. Mr. A. J. C. Sowdon is authorized to encourage the formation of young men's Independent clubs.

THE AWAKENING OF THE STATE.

During these days an active correspondence is maintained with sympathizers throughout the State. They are requested to send their names, and the names of those Republicans who are known to be actively opposed to Mr. Blaine, to the Washington Street headquarters. Many responses come in from every part of the State. The current impression that their numbers are few outside of Boston, Cambridge, and Newton is found to be very erroneous. Names pour in from all sides. Sometimes there are only two or three in a letter. Again, there are twenty or thirty. Little country towns, where it

was not suspected that a response would be awakened, sometimes show a surprising proportion of disaffected voters. Other towns again seem to make no objection to the regular nomination, and the encouragement from them is slight. Early in the campaign some approximate statements are made of the number on the rolls at the headquarters. By July 9, it is said that they have five thousand or six thousand names. But the curiosity of the regular party adherents, and the danger from much publicity attending the movement, lead to the determination to allow no details to reach their opponents. The managers are not affected by sneers or persuasion. Thousands of men all over the State are in uncertainty. The Republican nominee is not their favorite. With reason or without, they distrust him. But they are Republicans. For more than a score of years they have been in power. They have little confidence in the ability of the Democratic party to administer the national government as well as the Republicans, who have been at the helm so long. They waver and delay. They want time for making up their minds. It is early in the campaign. If they should take a stand, further developments might change their views. So the Independent committee determines not to expose them to any pressure from the party managers. No names are given out for publication. The leaven is left to work in secret.

July 10, Messrs. Warren, Leverett, and G. F. Williams are appointed a committee to arrange for the publication of the record of Blaine's public career, with full powers to issue what they judge best.

GOVERNOR CLEVELAND'S NOMINATION.

July 11, Governor Cleveland receives the Democratic nomination. In the Independent headquarters it is greeted with three cheers, for that is the choice most desired by a majority of the Committee of One Hundred. Arrangements are promptly made for an early meeting of the Independents of the nation. Messrs. Sowdon and A. M. Howe are added to the Executive Committee, and they, with Mr. G. F. Williams, are appointed to select a list of fifty delegates to the National Conference.

July 14, a meeting of the Independent Republican General Committee is held in New York, at which Carl Schurz presides, and an address to the nation is issued. On the same day, the opposition in Chelsea to the Republican nomination takes open form; and, at a

rally in Banquet Hall, speeches are made by Colonel Higginson, Dr. William Everett, and Mr. A. J. C. Sowdon. Mr. Elbridge C. Donnell, a Republican leader hitherto, is the chief man in this local outbreak. On the day following, the Winchester Independents organize; and, three days later, a strong movement appears in Dedham.

July 15, the secretary is instructed to correspond with local organizations, requesting them to send delegates to the New York Conference. The Boston members of the Executive Committee are made the local organization to oversee the anti-Blaine movement.

July 16, the Committee of One Hundred meet at Parker's to elect delegates to the Independent National Conference, in New York, to be held July 22. (The list of delegates who responded to their names in New York is given below.) At the meeting on the 17th, Messrs. Hoar, Coddman, Moses Williams, and Phineas Pierce are appointed a subcommittee to confer with the Independents of New York and other places, on Monday, July 21, to arrange the work for Tuesday. Massachusetts delegates are requested to meet at 9.30 at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, on the morning of the conference.

July 18, it is voted that no action in regard to a State convention be taken till after the New York Conference. It is also voted "that the gentlemen designated take charge of the counties set against their names to procure three persons in each town who sympathize with us."

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE.

Late in the afternoon of July 21 the delegation starts for New York. Their special car over the Old Colony line runs between the cars "Puritan" and "Pilgrim," — names of good omen for their mission. They go, most of them, expecting that they will indorse the nomination of Governor Cleveland. Whatever desire some of them may have for the formation of a third party is apparently ready to be waived for the sake of accomplishing what they believe to be the more imperative duty of defeating the Republican nominee.

At the meeting in the Fifth Avenue Hotel, at 9.30, on the morning of the 22d, Mr. Joseph H. Walker, of Worcester, is chairman, and Mr. J. B. Gardner is secretary. The following seventy-one delegates are present, including representatives of local organizations, as well as the fifty elected by the Executive Committee: —

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Charles R. Codman of Barnstable. | Freeman Hunt of Cambridge. |
| Phineas Pierce of Boston. | J. C. Randall of Quincy. |
| Moses Williams of Brookline. | F. A. Claflin of Quincy. |
| A. D. Bosson of Chelsea. | W. R. Richards of Boston. |
| Simeon Borden of Fall River. | R. H. Dana of Boston. |
| James B. Thayer of Cambridge. | W. H. Forbes of Boston. |
| F. B. Gummere of New Bedford. | W. O. Henshaw of Cambridge. |
| William Everett of Quincy. | E. C. Donnell of Chelsea. |
| J. H. Slade of Quincy. | J. R. Carter of Newton. |
| W. C. Lawton of New Bedford. | John Read of Cambridge. |
| Theodore Lyman of Brookline. | Samuel M. Quincy of Boston. |
| George F. Williams of Dedham. | A. J. C. Sowdon of Boston. |
| Winslow Warren of Dedham. | E. P. Call of Newton. |
| John F. Lonsdale of Providence, R. I. | George S. Hale of Boston. |
| R. B. Cumstock of Providence, R. I. | Gamaliel Bradford of Cambridge. |
| J. H. Seelye of Amherst. | F. F. Raymond, 2d, of Newton. |
| W. R. Johnson of Newburyport. | J. B. Gardner of Boston. |
| Charles H. Fiske of Weston. | Edmund C. Browne of Salem. |
| Robert Bleakie of Hyde Park. | H. B. Little of Newburyport. |
| Henry W. Putnam of Boston. | D. W. Moorehouse of Newburyport. |
| William Simes of Boston. | J. F. Ober of Newton. |
| C. S. Rackemann of Pittsfield. | W. V. Kellen of Woburn. |
| George G. Wright of Cambridge. | Josiah Quincy of Quincy. |
| John Ritchie of Winthrop. | Cornelius Wellington of Lexington. |
| Jabez Fox of Cambridge. | George D. Sampson of Medford. |
| D. F. Munroe of Concord. | J. J. Russell of Plymouth. |
| W. Hudson of Concord. | W. H. Fox of Taunton. |
| E. S. Huntington of Quincy. | C. C. Jackson of Boston. |
| F. V. B. Kern of Cambridge. | George V. Leverett of Cambridge. |
| Frederick Dodge of Belmont. | Zechariah Chaffee, Jr., of Providence, |
| A. A. Pope of Newton. | R. I. |
| John S. Farlow of Newton. | William Martin of Chelsea. |
| T. W. Higginson of Cambridge. | J. H. Wordell of New Bedford. |
| A. M. Howe of Cambridge. | Joseph H. Walker of Worcester. |
| F. C. Lowell of Boston. | J. C. Maker of Melrose. |
| E. S. Osgood of Cambridge. | S. E. Griffin of Springfield. |

At eleven, having taken no action as to a candidate, they break up to meet again in the University Club Theatre near Madison Avenue, where the conference is to be held. Col. Codman presides at that conference, and in his speech he says :—

“ Acting as we all of us have done at times with the Republican party, and most of us never failing to support its nominations, and some of us its

supporters when it was neither successful nor popular, it is not without pain that we find ourselves compelled to oppose the Presidential nomination of this historical organization : but we say that parties are but means to accomplish political ends ; that they must stand for principles, if they are to have any more vitality than that of mere organization ; and that they cannot live alone upon the memory of great results achieved, if they do not meet the demands of the time. And we do not see that at the present time the great parties that divide the country are clearly and unmistakably at issue upon any important question, so that we are confined in this Presidential canvass almost exclusively to the question of the fitness of candidates. . . .

For myself, I do not hesitate to say that the defeat of Mr. Blaine should be compassed by all honorable means. It seems to me that the cause of good government, of pure politics, of American character, requires it to be done. There is but one way to do it, and that way must be obvious to us all. We desire, first of all, a President that is incorruptible ; and if, besides that, he is able and independent, so much the better.

We have not far to go to find a man who is all this. It has been said recently, by some of the supporters of Mr. Blaine, that no Democratic President was ever able to resist the pressure of party managers. It may perhaps be true, and possibly some Republican Presidents have been open to the same criticism ; but there is certainly one Democratic official who has shown the ability to successfully resist all pressure that would interfere with the faithful performance of official duty, and he is now governor of New York, and the Democratic candidate for President of the United States, — a man whose utterances and whose acts, whether as mayor or governor, have proved that he holds office, not for personal end, but as a trust for the people, whose servant he is. As a lifelong opponent of the Democratic party, and with no intention of now becoming identified with it, I will yet say that it is fortunate for the Republic that, at a crisis when the party which has been the party of progress halts and is unfaithful, the party which we have been accustomed to distrust shows wise intelligence and civic courage. It has risen to its great opportunity ; and those Republicans who would make effectual opposition to a candidate they believe to be unfit, can, with no loss of self-respect, without surrendering a conviction, and in the exercise of the highest political expediency, give their votes to the reform governor of New York."

The conference, as a body, adopts unanimously an address, indorsing Governor Cleveland's nomination, and sends it "to our fellow-citizens of the United States." It declares : —

"The paramount issue of the Presidential election of this year is moral, rather than political. It concerns the national honor and character and honesty of administration rather than the general policies of government,

upon which the platforms of the two parties do not essentially differ. No position taken by one platform is seriously traversed by the other. . . .

If the Republican Convention had presented a candidate whose character and career were the pledge of a resolute contest with the tendencies that we have described, if they had foretold a stern dealing with political corruption and a vigorous correction of the vast abuses which the long and undisturbed tenure of power by any party is sure to breed, if the success of the candidate had promised inflexible honesty of administration, purification of the government, and elevation of the party standard, every Republican voter would gladly have supported the nomination. But these are precisely the anticipations which the nomination forbids. It offers a candidate who is an unfit leader, shown by his own words and his acknowledged acts, which are of official record, to be unworthy of respect and confidence; who has traded upon his official trust for his pecuniary gain; a representative of men, methods, and conduct which the public conscience condemns, and which illustrate the very evils which honest men would reform. Such a nomination does not promise in the executive chair inflexible official integrity, calm and wise judgment, a sole regard for the public welfare, and an unshrinking determination to promote reform in the civil service, and ceaselessly to pursue and punish public robbers of every kind and degree. Independent voters have generally supported Republican nominations, as more surely promising reform than those of the Democratic party. Independents, however, cannot support a nomination which is the culmination of the tendency that they would correct. Republicans cannot hope that, under such leadership as we have mentioned, the abuses of the past can be corrected or the party reformed. We are very proud of the great record and services of the Republican party, but not with our consent or connivance shall that record be disgraced. . . .

The Republican nomination has for the time superseded all other issues by raising the question of official honesty. This question cannot be avoided, except upon the plea that the official character of the candidates need not be considered, and that, in order to secure a party President, the members of a party ought to vote for any candidate who has been regularly nominated. This is a plea beyond which party madness cannot go. Acquiescence in it would require the surrender of the self-respect of every voter. There could be no candidate so unfit that this plea would not demand his support; and Republican success, justified by an argument which defies the public conscience, would be the overthrow of the vital principle of the party, and show that the spirit and character which created its great traditions are rapidly perishing. . . .

While the Republican nomination presents a candidate whom we cannot support, the Democratic party presents one whose name is the synonyme of political courage and honesty and of administrative reform. He has discharged every official trust with a sole regard to the public welfare, and

with a just disregard of mere partisan and personal advantage, which, with the applause and confidence of both parties, have raised him from the chief executive administration of a great city to that of a great State. His unreserved, intelligent, and sincere support of reform in the civil service has firmly established that reform in the State and cities of New York; and his personal convictions, proved by his official acts more decisive than any possible platform declarations, are the guarantee that, in its spirit and in its letter, the reform would be enforced in the national administration. His high sense of duty, his absolute and unchallenged official integrity, his inflexible courage in resisting party pressure and public outcry, his great experience in the details of administration, and his commanding executive ability and independence are precisely the qualities which the political situation demands in the chief executive officer of the government, to resist corporate monopoly on the one hand and demagogic communism on the other, and at home and abroad, without menace or fear, to protect every right of American citizens, and to respect every right of friendly states, by making political morality and private honesty the basis of constitutional administration.

He is a Democrat who is happily free from all association with the fierce party differences of the slavery contest, and whose financial views are in harmony with those of the best men in both parties; and, coming into public prominence at a time when official purity, courage, and character are of chief importance, he presents the qualities and the promise which Independent voters desire, and which a great body of Republicans, believing those qualities to be absolutely indispensable in the administration of the government at this time, do not find in the candidate of their own party. . . .

This conference, therefore, assuming that Republican and Independent voters, who, for any reason, cannot sustain the Republican nomination, desire to take the course which, under the necessary conditions and constitutional methods of a Presidential election, will most readily and surely secure the result at which they aim, respectfully recommends to all such citizens to support the electors who will vote for Grover Cleveland, in order most effectually to enforce their conviction that nothing could more deeply stain the American name, and prove more disastrous to the public welfare, than the deliberate indifference of the people of the United States to increasing public corruption and to the want of official integrity in the highest trusts of the government."

Thorough approval of the conference is accorded by the Massachusetts Independents. Those who were desirous that a third party should be formed are satisfied that the wisest course has been taken, and they all turn to the home work with reassured hope. The address of the National Conference and the speech of Colonel Codman are issued as campaign documents, and they awaken a large demand.

THE REVOLT INCREASING.

Day after day reports continue to come in, confirming the fact that the revolt against Mr. Blaine is assuming large proportions. Local organizations spring up here and there all over the State. In some areas there appears to be no coöperation with the Washington Street headquarters, but the districts adjoining make the proportion good except in the Cape district. Every day the Executive Committee continues to meet. Believing that eternal vigilance is the price of success, they pay that price freely.

ACCOUNTING FOR EXPENDITURES.

At the meeting July 24, in answer to letters, this vote is passed : —

“It is not intended publicly to acknowledge the receipts or to state expenditures, but it is intended to send to each subscriber a printed statement, showing the total amount subscribed and a detailed statement of all the expenditures. This statement will be approved by the auditing committee, and signed by the treasurer.”

AIDING LOCAL ORGANIZATIONS.

In reply to a letter from a town in the north of Worcester County, the secretary is instructed at the meeting, July 30, to say that the committee will take no action looking to a fusion with the Democratic party, although they are working to elect the head of the Democratic ticket.

In order to facilitate the organization of local clubs and to answer the numerous inquiries which are continually asked as to the best method of founding such clubs, a form of Constitution is prepared and furnished to all applicants, as follows : —

“ PREAMBLE.

Believing that offices of public trust and honor should be filled by those incapable of using them for private gain, and convinced, as we are, that the Republican candidate for President has by his official acts forfeited all claims to support from those who place the interests of their country above those of party, we hereby form an organization for the purpose of united action in accordance with these convictions, and adopt the following

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I. The name of this association shall be the Republican and Independent Club of —.

ART. II. The object of this association shall be to oppose by all honorable methods the election of Blaine and Logan to the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States.

ART. III. Any Republican or Independent voter, whose application is approved by the executive committee, may become a member by signing this Constitution.

ART. IV. The officers shall be a president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and executive committee of —. The officers named shall also be members of the executive committee.

ART. V. The officers named shall perform such duties as generally devolve upon corresponding officers of similar organizations. The executive committee shall have general charge of the business of the club, and endeavor by all honorable and legitimate means to foster its interests and further its objects.

ART. VI. Meetings of the club shall be held as may be determined by the executive committee. Special meetings may be called on the written request of — members. One eighth of the total membership shall form a quorum.

ART. VII. Any proposed addition or amendment to this Constitution must be offered in writing, and may be adopted at any meeting subsequent to the one at which it was proposed, provided two thirds of the members present vote therefor."

On the next day, they vote to print extracts from the laws regarding assessment and registration. Messrs. Quincy, C. B. Fox, and Gardner are appointed to attend a meeting of the young men and aid them in organizing. It is decided that no news shall be furnished to the newspapers without the consent of the chairman or secretary.

THE YOUNG MEN.

By the 1st of August it is evident that the city of Boston can best be cared for by an organization of its own, rather than by the Executive Committee, and steps are taken for the formation of a young men's club. It is young men who are most active in the movement. They do not feel the ties which bind their fathers to the Republican party. Its great achievements were made while they were yet boys, with no acquaintance with politics or war. Its failings are as con-

spicuous to them as its merits. They long for some new issue, and are weary of the continued reference to the past. Eagerly they join in a movement which has a fresh inspiration, and they form by far the most numerous class of opponents to the rigid party discipline which is sought to be maintained.

BUSY SCENES.

At the same time with their activity the tide seems rising all over the State. Encouraging reports are constantly received from almost every quarter. At the Washington Street headquarters all is full of life. It is especially true now, what continues to be the fact even up to election day, that more activity is shown here than at any other headquarters in the city. The Republicans on Park Street, the Democrats on Washington Street, the Prohibitionists and Butler party men also on Washington Street, all fail to equal the push and unflagging vigor which mark the prosecution of the anti-Blaine Republican campaign. People are coming in continually. A crowd takes permanent possession of the reading-room. The private office in the rear is occupied by clerks and stenographers. Piles of documents burden the tables, and thousands of envelopes and wrappers are addressed to voters of the Eastern States. Indeed, every State in the Union, with two or three exceptions, feels the quick pulse of these Boston workers. In reply to inquiries, campaign ammunition is promptly supplied. To some towns, documents are sent addressed to every Republican voter, whether he be for Blaine or anti. Most of these messages provoke no hostile response, but to some a reply is made in anything but a courteous spirit. Letters come in threatening vengeance on all who work against the Republican ticket. These are few, however, and serve merely as the spice of the daily entertainment which comes in freely through the mails.

Early in August, activity is reported to be seen openly among the Independents in the western counties. August 4 some forty or fifty anti-Blaine Republicans in Melrose hold a public meeting, and their Malden and Medford brethren come out openly the same week.

BOSTON YOUNG MEN'S CLUB.

August 7 is held the meeting at the Washington Street headquarters which results in the formation of the "Young Men's Republican and Independent Club of Boston," though it is a week before

the organization is completed, with Senator John F. Andrew, president, and Mr. John T. Wheelwright, secretary, and still later before it is domiciled in its commodious and pleasant headquarters on Bromfield Street, with ample facilities for prosecuting a vigorous city campaign.

CAMPAIGN CHARGES.

By this time the charges against the character of Governor Cleveland are thoroughly disseminated through the community. Two contrary effects are plainly seen. Some, who have joined the Independent movement, say they can no longer support him, and withdraw their names from the committee's lists. Others, with a decided inclination to abandon the fortunes of Mr. Blaine and join the Independents openly, are deterred, and remain with the old party. But others still, who have been hesitating, immediately join the Cleveland men, saying that, if the opposition is obliged to resort to that warfare, they will be associated with them no longer.

A NEW CHAIRMAN.

August 7, owing to an enforced absence from the State, Mr. Darwin E. Ware resigns his chairmanship of the Executive Committee, and Mr. George Fred Williams is chosen his successor. It is also voted to obtain the voting list of every town in the State.

As a token of their local habitation, and to show their campaign colors, a handsome flag is obtained, and on August 9 it is displayed over Washington Street from the headquarters. At the bottom it carries the names of the Presidential candidates, "Cleveland and Hendricks," and across the top is the legend, "Republican and Independent Headquarters."

ADDRESS TO THE VOTERS.

On the same day the first address is issued. It runs thus : —

"To the Voters of Massachusetts :

The approaching Presidential election presents an issue which cannot be evaded. For the first time in the history of our country we are brought face to face with the question whether the President of the United States shall be an honest man. The character of the contest was understood clearly by Henry Cabot Lodge, when he said to the Massachusetts Republican Convention in May last : —

'The people will look above the platform at the candidate whom we place upon it. The character of our candidate is the only sure pledge we can give of the sincerity and rectitude of our intentions. The political condition of the country is such that the character of the candidates will have more to do with the result of the election than has been the case for many years. . . . The people demand only that we shall nominate a candidate of unblemished character, sound and honest principles, and one capable of cordially uniting all Republicans in earnest support of the common cause.'

The man whom the people demanded, and had a right to demand, was well described, when John D. Long, a Massachusetts delegate, said at Chicago: He must be a 'man whose tried incorruptibility, whose walk through the storms and fires of public life, . . . whose recognized capacity to put a firm and safe hand upon the helm, have a hold upon the public confidence. He must be one who will stand for whatever has been honest and of good report in our national history; . . . and, above all, he must be one whose name will carry in the coming canvass that sense of security to which at each Presidential election the country turns, as to a very rock of salvation.'

We say that the candidate of the Republican party is not such a man, and that we will not vote for him.

We are told that the past of that party is glorious, and that we are therefore bound to support its candidate to-day. We yield to none in our pride at its great achievements or in our devotion to its principles, but, when the lesson of its past is forgotten and its principles are abandoned, its name alone cannot command our allegiance.

The question is not what the Republican party has done, but what it will do; not what it was, but what it is; not whether Lincoln and Seward and Sumner and Andrew and Stanton and Fessenden were great men and great leaders, but whether Blaine and Robeson and Keifer and Elkins and Clayton and Kellogg are men to whom we can safely confide the future of our country.

For many years, corruption in high office has been conspicuous. It has shown itself in every department of the public service. We have seen a Vice-President driven into private life by proof of personal dishonesty; a Secretary of War impeached for participation in felony; a Secretary of the Navy charged with corrupt practices, and leaving office under a cloud of suspicion, only to appear as a Republican leader in the House of Representatives; a Secretary of the Interior forced from his office by charges affecting his personal and official character; an Attorney-General compromised by evidence of petty fraud. We have not forgotten Colfax and Belknap and Robeson and Delano and Williams. In the Treasury Department, we have seen prominent officers implicated in 'Sanborn contracts,' and suspected of complicity in the gigantic conspiracy to defraud the revenue, known as the 'whiskey ring'; and the private secretary of the President indicted as a conspirator, while the minister who sought to punish the crim-

inals was dismissed from office. In the Post-Office Department we have seen an assistant secretary conspiring with senators of the United States in 'Star Route' frauds, and the conspirators boldly defying the government, which was powerless to secure justice in its own capital city. We have seen the prosecution of these offenders denounced with unsparing abuse by the man whom the Republican party sought for six weeks to make secretary of the Senate, while the National Republican Committee retained as its secretary the most conspicuous of the accused, and the counsel of the United States consulted cabinet ministers as to the effect on the party of indicting a senator. We have seen the last Republican Speaker disgraced by proof that he had shamefully abused his appointing power, and in face of this evidence, which has destroyed the confidence of his constituents, again the chosen candidate of the Republican party for the same high office. In the signal service we have seen a superintendent, in the Treasury Department a chief clerk, and in other departments, trusted officers guilty of stealing the public money. We have seen the guilty protected, but we have yet to see them punished.

We have seen the whole patronage of the Federal government used openly to support a leader in Virginia, whose principle is repudiation, and whose methods violate every rule of political morality. We have seen the public business neglected, the reform of the civil service sneered at and political assessments levied in defiance of party promises and public opinion, until the wave of popular indignation forced a reluctant Congress to inaugurate reform. The evils of a debased currency have been disregarded; our navy is a monument of maladministration; and the surplus, with all its temptations to extravagance, remains substantially undiminished.

Finally, we have seen the Republican party relying for its continuance in power, not on its own achievements, but on the mistakes of its opponents, and we have seen its leaders, not seeking to prevent, but to encourage these mistakes in order that thereby, at their country's expense, they might be furnished with arguments for their own continuance in power.

We have seen all these things, and have been told that the party must be reformed from within, that our remedy lay in its caucuses and conventions. For years we have yielded to this advice, and have struggled against the men who have sought to use the party for base personal ends. At times we have thought them beaten, and have hoped that the party which was once so great might emancipate itself from the control of the men who had degraded it, and reassert its original character. Instead, we now see these men promoted and their influence increased, while, under their inspiration, the party turns its back upon its principles, and, in place of declaring in clear words its policy on the questions of the day, by equivocal declarations and unmanly appeals to prejudice, seeks to secure votes only to perpetuate the power of its managers, and not to advance the prosperity of the country.

Its candidate for President is a man charged with the basest of public

crimes,—the abuse of official power for his own pecuniary advantage,—who for eight years has never dared to demand that full investigation of the charges which his political associates would gladly have accorded, and by which alone those charges can be met. Upon the evidence already produced, we believe him guilty; and we know that many of his prominent supporters share our belief. Their declarations before his nomination, their silence or their guarded language in public addresses since, are conclusive evidence of this. He is convicted by his own statements of deliberate falsehood on the most solemn occasions. The men who in the past have disgraced the Republican party are united in his support and are admitted to a controlling influence in the conduct of his campaign, while, of the honest men who are joined with these, the leaders are largely either holders of or candidates for public office, who urge their fellow-citizens to follow them more to preserve the party than because they approve its chief. In fine, the Republican party has to-day no policy which it dares to avow and a leader whom it cannot defend.

At this very moment it forms an alliance in West Virginia with the advocates of dishonest money; in New Hampshire, a leading organ repudiates civil-service reform; in Washington, political assessments are attempted under a thin disguise. It is idle to hope that, with such leadership, the abuses of the past can be corrected or the party reformed. Under the influences which now dominate its councils, the tendency must be downward; and there is no clearer proof that this tendency exists than the fact that honest men are found ready to tolerate and excuse offences which a few years ago would have made the offender infamous. We see in increasing fidelity to party great dangers to our government, and it is an omen of disaster when this fidelity leads men of character and position to throw their influence in favor of dishonesty and to mislead their fellow-citizens by misrepresenting the facts and obscuring the issue. The fascination of the name 'Republican' has made men blind to offences which otherwise they would condemn. It is our imperative duty, therefore, to disregard the appeals to party spirit, which, in the language of Washington, it is 'the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain,' and to consider how best we can stay the progress of corruption in the government of our country.

Leaving to Congress the great questions of policy, which must be questions of legislation, and reserving the right to vote in Congressional elections for such men as represent our opinion on these questions; intending in the State to vote in the future as we have in the past,—we see in the Presidential contest a simple issue. Our platform is the single principle that none but men of proved integrity should be supported for public office, and that the use of official power for personal ends is a breach of trust, which should disqualify for the public service those who are guilty of it. A party nomination which violates this principle must not only forfeit our support, but incur our unswerving opposition.

By the nomination of James G. Blaine, the Republican party has thrown down the gauntlet of corrupt and partisan government. The Democratic party answers the challenge. Its candidate is the acknowledged champion of reform and political honesty. The issue is thus joined. The leaders are representative men, the foremost of their kind; and we cannot for an instant hesitate in our choice, or doubt what the true interests of our country demand. We do not ally ourselves with the Democratic party, still less sanction or approve its past, but its present candidate has proved his fidelity to the principles we avow, and, in the coming election, he commands and will receive our support.

For these reasons we urge all our fellow-citizens to unite with us in our effort to secure the election of Governor Cleveland, and to organize in their respective neighborhoods, that the vote of Massachusetts may be given in November for honest government.

GEORGE FRED WILLIAMS, *Chairman.*

MOSES WILLIAMS, *Secretary.*

Darwin E. Ware, William H. Forbes, Samuel Hoar, Moorfield Storey, Phineas Pierce, Jabez Fox, George V. Leverett, F. F. Raymond, 2d, Charles B. Fox, Stephen M. Weld, Samuel M. Quincy, Winslow Warren, C. C. Jackson, Archibald M. Howe, A. J. C. Sowdon, *Executive Committee.*

166 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON, August 9, 1884."

DIFFICULTIES OF ORGANIZATION.

In all parts of the State the workers continue busy. The organization has to be built up wholly from the foundation. No nucleus exists as in the case of the regular parties. Names are obtained in reply to advertisements in the newspapers requesting sympathizers with the movement to send their addresses to the headquarters. From those who reply are selected those who show the most lively interest and who seem to be the best fitted for political work. Correspondence is immediately opened with them. In many towns clubs are formed with no regular organization, for the voters who are associated believe that they can work more effectively by making no open effort. Nearly one half of the towns of the State are covered by such semi-organizations. Against great difficulties is the work of organization prosecuted. Other parties have their town committees. They have their correspondents, and know how to make themselves felt all over the State. But the organization of the anti-Blaine Republicans is not ready made and at hand, with only the need

of repairs. Time is consumed in learning who can be trusted and in getting the machinery in order.

At the meeting August 12, a vote is passed that all documents issued by authority of the committee have that fact appear upon the publications. The next day they vote to send to each name in the Vermont register Carl Schurz's speech and the Address to the voters of Massachusetts, with a circular saying that other documents will be sent upon application.

ENCOURAGING RESPONSES.

By the middle of August, before the campaign in the State is fairly begun by the regular Republican and Democratic organizations, the Independents are so much encouraged by the success of their efforts and by the numerous responses to their letters and documents, that they already say that there is a good prospect that Mr. Cleveland will be elected. Numerous requests for speakers are made and rallies are held here and there occasionally, which are addressed by Independents sent out from the headquarters.

August 14 is recorded as the busiest day of the campaign up to date at No. 166 Washington Street. Crowds of visitors have been coming in throughout the day. Demands for documents are numerous, and correspondents who must be answered multiply. Requests are particularly frequent for the Address to the voters of Massachusetts and for Carl Schurz's speech in Brooklyn, analyzing the character and record of Mr. Blaine as shown in the Mulligan letters. An additional number of clerks is engaged in order to supply all applicants. Even from distant Iowa come requests for campaign literature.

The same newspapers which record these proceedings tell also of the course of the Republican party managers in deciding to exclude from the party caucuses all who will not support the nominees of the National Convention, — a measure which provokes some indignation and widens the breach between the regulars and some Independents, but which most of those who are thus debarred regard as a matter of indifference.

Hyde Park Independents open their headquarters at this time, and a small newspaper, *The Hyde Park Independent*, is started to help along the cause.

On the next night, according to the record, three new clerks are employed, and six extra persons are engaged to help in preparing

documents for the mails. Eight persons work all night till daylight folding and mailing campaign tracts to all parts of the country. The next day reports an increased demand for documents, and the week closing August 16 stands as the busiest thus far in the campaign.

On the 18th appears a new edition of the Address to the voters of the State, for the first was speedily exhausted. This is sent to every county, and seems to be having a decided effect. Renewed reports tell of the spreading disaffection in the western counties. New names are constantly added to the rolls.

On the 22d the Young Men's Club of Boston completes the details of its organization, and is ready to begin its effective work in the different wards of the city, though the headquarters are not opened till three days later. An increased demand for documents is reported from all parts of the State, and by the 23d, 50,000 copies have been distributed of Mr. Schurz's Brooklyn speech. Large cities and the smaller towns manifest new interest in the work of the hour. By this time the organization, made with so much labor, is becoming effective, and many voters can be easily reached.

On the 25th appears a call for a meeting of the Berkshire County bolters at Pittsfield on the 29th, and word comes from Franklin County that the young men are very busy there also.

On the 26th occurs the Republican caucus in the Quincy town hall at which Mr. Henry H. Faxon and other Independents are read out of the party, and not allowed to take part in any of the proceedings, not even in those relating to the selection of candidates whom they propose to support. On Mr. Faxon the result is to send him wholly over to the Prohibitionists, whose candidate for lieutenant-governor he afterward becomes.

August 28, the insurrection against party rule breaks out in Winthrop, and a rally of the Independents there is addressed by Colonel Higginson and Mr. Robert P. Clapp. Reports of gains continue to reach the headquarters, and the infection is found to be spreading in Worcester and Hampden Counties especially. Headquarters are opened by the Chelsea Independents, three hundred strong, September 1, and two days later an open organization is made in East Boston.

September 3 occur the Republican and Democratic State Conventions. Governor Robinson and the remainder of the Republican State

ticket are renominated, and Judge Endicott is the gubernatorial choice of the Democrats. At the committee meeting of that day it is voted to have sessions on Mondays and Thursdays only. In the week following this action, the Independents prosecute their work quietly, and the organization of clubs continues. Cleveland Republicans do not commit themselves openly to the Blaine sympathizers. They do not care to be made the target of party influence. But at the Washington Street headquarters reliable accounts are received showing a common distrust of the Republican nominee, joined with a disposition to vote for Mr. Cleveland or Mr. St. John, or to abstain altogether from voting.

When the committee are in session September 8, the question comes up as to sustaining Governor Robinson, and it is the general opinion that they should support the whole of the Republican ticket, except the head. Records of meetings immediately before and after this date are occupied with the discussion of business details, such as the assignment of speakers, the registration of voters, and the distribution of documents.

On the 13th another Independent demonstration occurs at Quincy, a town which seems to possess unusual activity. Carl Schurz's speech, translated into German, is also distributed for the first time. All parts of the State respond to the missives from Boston, except the southeastern. That does not yet prove a fertile field for cultivation. Hampshire County, especially Northampton and Amherst, shows renewed opposition to the regular nominees.

Nearly at the end of the month some idea can be formed of the position of the Germans. They are found to be largely disposed to favor Mr. Cleveland. On the 29th the anti-Blaine Republicans of Newton organize. Like action is taken the same day in Somerville.

THE FIRST RALLY.

October 1, a great rally is held in Tremont Temple. The large hall is packed to the utmost. Col. Henry Lee presides, and speeches are made by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Col. T. W. Higginson, Dr. William Everett, and Mr. George Fred Williams. The last named is the first speaker. Some of his words are these : —

“ We have not only a negative, but we have a positive purpose. We are here asking you for your suffrages. We are opposing the representative of public dishonesty, with a representative of reform and good government.

[Applause.] Our cause is not only to defeat, thank heaven, but it is also to elect. [Applause.] There has been dust thrown in plenty at our candidate, but beyond all shortcomings is the one quality which is needed at the head of our government to-day, which this man possesses beyond all others, and that is the quality of positive and decided public virtue. [Applause.] We have, in these times, when the public honor is assailed, a man who is a monomaniac on the subject of good government. I, for one, am not afraid of this man. [Applause.] If any one hesitate at him, I ask him to do what we have done — to place on the one hand private scruples and on the other the dishonor of the American name, which can never be effaced.” [Applause.]

Col. Lee, in his address, spares no plainness of speech in presenting what he believes the issue of the campaign. He says :—

“ At the present time, it is not we who have deserted our party, it is the Republican party, as now organized, which has deserted us. They, taking as their motto, ‘ Whatever is expedient is right,’ have veered around. We, reversing that motto to ‘ Whatever is right is expedient,’ have remained stationary. . . . Some of us have protested against the moral obtuseness of Grant, the Robeson and Delano, and Belknap and Babcock scandals, against the indorsement of Butler ; and, later, the indorsement of Mahone ; against this very man Blaine, when his prostitution of the high office of Speaker of the House of Representatives was first revealed ; but all in vain. We have been told by political managers that we were good fellows, but impractical, and hoping all things, we have followed the fortunes of the party down to its present low estate. Now that we refuse to follow further, we are called Pharisees, but Pharisees are ‘ like unto whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men’s bones, who outwardly appear righteous, but within are full of hypocrisy and iniquity,’ and this description seems to apply rather to the Republican candidate and those who try to hide or deny his iniquities than to us. Conscious of their own inconsistency and insincerity in supporting a man whom they have hitherto despised in his public and private capacity, and whose double-distilled hypocrisy has been now more fully exposed, these advocates have resorted to the weapons of the ill-at-ease. They have not only black-guarded their former associates, some of whom were their most efficient workers and trusted leaders, they accuse them of indifference to the condition of the colored people, of being free-traders, and therefore rejecting Mr. Blaine, when they have just expressed their wish for Mr. Edmunds, a bigoted protectionist. They have, for the first time in a political campaign, exposed and exaggerated one deplorable act in the private life of the opposing candidate, as if they had not all their lives supported and eulogized men with whom such acts were habitual, and as if their candidate did not lie

under the same imputation. They have turned their backs upon civil-service reform, which they professed to have at heart, added to the iniquity of its violation the iniquity of hypocrisy, and finally have clasped hands and implored the aid of Butler, Blaine's twin brother morally, though mentally his superior. I say finally, but there is a lower depth to which they have stooped, that of vouching for the innocence of a man whom they know to be guilty. . . . We know what Blaine is, and always has been, — a liar from the beginning, and we prophesy that, whether he succeeds once more in imposing himself upon the people as a patriotic statesman, or whether his fraudulent career is here arrested, sooner or later he will be exposed in all his naked ugliness, and they who now clamor for his election will be glad to shelter themselves under the protection of those who now reject him."

A portion of Dr. Clarke's speech is as follows : —

"Once, to be a Republican meant to be independent; it meant to follow principle rather than party, and to refuse our votes to any man whom we deemed unfit for an office, no matter how popular he might be or what influences he might combine in his support. But now, unfortunately, men may be Republicans, and not thus independent; and, therefore, we must add this qualifying term, in order to define our position. We mean, then, to say that we belong to that class of Republicans, who in 1876, in 1880, and in this very year 1884, opposed the nomination of Mr. Blaine, throwing the vote and influence of Massachusetts against him in three national conventions. . . . We stand where the Republicans of Massachusetts stood in 1875, when they passed the following resolution, reported by H. L. Dawes, our Massachusetts senator. It is in the platform of the Republican State Convention in 1875, in which H. L. Dawes was chairman of the Committee on Resolutions : —

'It is therefore declared by the Republicans of Massachusetts that they will support no man for official position whose character is not an absolute guarantee of fidelity to every public trust; and they invoke the condemnation of the ballot-box upon any candidate for office who fails of this test, whatever be his party name or association.'

What, then, are our objections to Mr. Blaine? They fall into two classes, — his course in Congress, which showed that he did not understand the duties of a legislator; and his course since, in Garfield's cabinet, which proved him unfit for the duties of an executive office. . . . My objections to him are wholly on public grounds. I have carefully studied the Congressional Record of the investigation made in 1876, and the so-called Mulligan letters. I think that, whatever else may be implied and suggested by them, this at least is certain: That Mr. Blaine, during the time that he was a member of Congress and Speaker of the House, was earnestly engaged in buying and selling the stocks of railroads, — accumulating wealth and deriving special advantages from these roads on

account of his official position and influence; that on one occasion he urged again and again that he should receive pecuniary favors, because as Speaker of the House he had helped a railroad by his decision; that these railroads, from which he sought and obtained such advantages, were those which were receiving help by acts of Congressional legislation. . . .

With these documents before us, the Congressional Record and the Muligan letters, — documents the authenticity of which is not denied, — we are sorrowfully brought to the conclusion that the present candidate of the Republican party is an unfit, discreditable, and unsafe person to be President of this nation: He is unfit, because he has used public office and position for private gain and personal emolument; discreditable, because he has disguised and concealed those transactions by constant duplicity; and unsafe, because, during his brief term of office in an executive department, he has interfered without justice or reason in the affairs of other republics, and prostituted in the service of private interests the power confided to him for public ends. . . . The only policy of which he is the exponent is to continue to compel the people to pay in taxes \$100,000,000 more than is needed for the expenses of the nation, and then to distribute it among the States. It seems to me that nothing could be more dangerous than four years of an administration like this. One pretty sure result would be the destruction of the Republican party. Four years of Blaine's administration would bury it in a dishonored grave. Indeed, Mr. Chairman, I think that the only hope for the Republican party itself is the defeat of Blaine. Going out of power for a while, it would recover something of its former quality, and return to its better traditions. We do not cease to be Republicans, because we vote for once by the side of our opponents. . . . To me, Mr. Chairman, the chief evils which endanger our nation and public life to-day seem those so forcibly described by our Massachusetts senator, Mr. Hoar, many years ago. . . .

'My own public life,' said Mr. Hoar, in May, 1876, 'has been a very brief and insignificant one, extending little beyond the duration of a single term of senatorial office; but, in that brief period, I have seen five judges of a high court of the United States driven from office by threats of impeachment for corruption or maladministration. I have heard the taunt from friendliest lips that, when the United States presented herself in the East to take part with the civilized world in generous competition in the arts of life, the only product of her institutions in which she surpassed all others beyond question was her corruption. I have seen in the State in the Union foremost in power and wealth four judges of her courts impeached for corruption, and political administration of her chief city become a disgrace and by-word throughout the world. I have seen the chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs in the House, now a distinguished member of this court, rise in his place and demand the expulsion of four of his associates for making sale of their official privilege of selecting the youths

to be educated at our great military school. When the greatest railroad of the world, binding together the continent, and uniting the two great seas which wash our shores, was finished, I have seen our national triumph and exultation turned to bitterness and shame by the unanimous reports of three committees of Congress—two of the House and one here—that every step of that mighty enterprise had been taken in fraud. I have heard in higher places the shameless doctrine avowed by men grown old in public office that the true way by which power should be gained in the Republic is to bribe the people with the offices created for their service, and the true end for which it should be used, when gained, is the promotion of selfish ambition and the gratification of personal revenge. I have heard that suspicion haunts the footsteps of the trusted companions of the President. These things have passed into history. The Hallam, or the Tacitus, or the Sismondi, or the Macaulay, who writes the annals of our time, will record them with his inexorable pen. And now, when a high cabinet officer, the constitutional adviser of the executive, flees from office before charges of corruption, shall the historian add that the Senate treated the demand of the people for its judgment of condemnation as a farce, and laid down its high functions before the sophistries and jeers of the criminal lawyer? Shall he speculate about the petty political calculations as to the effect on one party or the other which induced his judges to connive at the escape of the great public criminal? Or, on the other hand, shall he close the chapter by narrating how these things were detected, reformed, and punished by constitutional processes which the wisdom of our fathers devised for us, and the virtue and purity of the people found their vindication in the justice of the Senate?

. . . The rings and lobbies, which infest the halls of Congress and dictate legislation, make those halls the places around which the infection mostly rages; and, to check it, we need most of all a man as President, honest and firm, belonging to the older type of magistrates, who has the courage to defy bad men in his own party, and to check assaults on the treasury, when made by his own friends. And such a man we have in Grover Cleveland. First, as mayor of Buffalo, he delivered the city from the plunderers who were laying it waste, and received the cordial thanks of the best men of both parties. Next, as governor of New York, he has supported, as my friend Dorman B. Eaton and others assure me, every measure tending to protect the people from official plunderers. Because he has plucked the prey from the jaws of the wicked, the baser elements of his party have combined with bitter hatred against him. This itself is a proof that he is the man needed now to execute justice on a still higher platform. For he had, evidently, only to concede a little, to give way a little, to make a few promises to these Democratic leaders, bribe them with a few offices, to have their support, as he now has their determined and unconcealed and inveterate hostility. [After a defence of Gov. Cleveland against gross campaign charges, Dr. Clarke closed as follows:—]

This Independent movement has come to stay. Some of the Republican orators, who have come from a distance to instruct us, have been disposed to jeer at this Independent movement as a very trifling affair. So, I remember, men jeered at the humble beginnings of the Liberty party, and the Free-Soil party, and at the whole anti-slavery movement. They laughed and made merry as that great storm was coming up the sky, as the people did in the days of Noah, and knew nothing till the flood came and swept them all away. Gentlemen, if you will, permit me to close this serious speech with a light anecdote. I remember my friend, the late James T. Fields, once told me he was crossing the Common one night, when a partially inebriated man stopped him, and, pointing to the sky, said, 'Why does not that rocket come down?' — 'Rocket!' said Fields: 'that's not a rocket; that's a star!' — 'Oh! I beg your pardon,' said the other, 'I am a stranger in these parts.' Those who think the Independent movement is only a rocket, and that it is about to fall, are, I think, strangers in these parts. They do not know the motives nor the men nor the spirit nor the power of this movement. It has come to work, and it has come to stay."

Dr. William Everett, of Quincy, the next speaker, sums up the case thus: —

"I tell you, friends, it is not the Mulligan letters; it is not the Northern Pacific bonds; it is not the management of the office of Secretary of State; it is not the fact that, during eighteen years, he has been the father of no great measure; but it is the fact that, through his whole career, he has done exactly what he did in New York and is doing in Ohio, — made pleasant speeches for the sake of getting votes, while Grover Cleveland has been doing unpopular acts, for the benefit of the people, against their will. [Applause.] We are sick of the Republican managers, because they are shufflers, because they are undecided. They have no definite policy; they are for protection in one place, and are in favor of readjustment of the tariff in another. And in Virginia they are in favor of the repudiators, because it will bring them a few votes. They are all things to all men. We want something decided; we want something positive. We are Independents; we are going to have our new party; and we are going to make an administration, so far as we can, that shall be outspoken in all that is just and right in good government."

Colonel Higginson speaks at length, and is profuse with reference to the local candidates and to historical scenes. He thus characterizes the movement: —

"Fellow-citizens, the secret of this movement is that it represents the future, and not the past. It belongs to modern history, and not ancient. [Loud applause.] The hold it has on our young men is that it represents,

not any party accustomed to power and demoralized, but a party proved by disaster; and never was it so well shown as in the nomination of Grover Cleveland." [Applause.]

The Hon. John M. Forbes writes in a letter read at the meeting:—

"I applaud your action in banding together, and in not allowing the Juggernaut car of party to crush out your right and duty of private judgment. Better make a thousand mistakes in your method of action than to stand supinely, and let the ship of state drift on, or be entirely in the hands of hack politicians. . . . Even if your action leads to both a Democratic administration and a Democratic Congress (however undesirable the latter may be), I still think the course above indicated far preferable to the step downward and backward which would result from indorsing Messrs. Blaine and Logan. I have full faith that the country can survive another experiment in a Democratic government in all the branches, even if it proves as bad as the most dismal Republican orators predict."

PUSHING THE WORK.

It is decided at the committee meeting on October 2 that the chairman shall go to New York to arrange with Mr. Schurz to speak in Boston. Emil Heidenreich is added to the Executive Committee. Four days later the chairman announces that Mr. Schurz will speak on the 22d. On the 3d it is voted to translate the address of the Committee of One Hundred into German, and to send it to every voter of German birth or descent as far as practicable, accompanied by a letter asking him to join in the Cleveland movement.

On the 4th, another Independent rally in Quincy occurs, and two days later the movement comes to an open head in Brockton. At the headquarters an increasing demand for speakers is reported, and the best men are frequently on the stump. October 9, Mr. A. J. C. Sowdon is appointed vice-chairman, with full powers of chairman. In Everett the Independents show their strength at a public rally, and the next night their brethren in East Boston take their turn. Good speakers address each meeting.

On this latter day the movement in the Ninth Congressional District has so far advanced that an address is issued in behalf of Colonel Lyman's reelection. A published canvass of Harvard College shows that there are four hundred and eighty-two Blaine men to four hundred and sixty-two for Cleveland,—a surprising change since

spring, when there were eight hundred and seventy-eight Republicans to one hundred and fifty-three Democrats recorded.

October 10, rallies of anti-Blaine men occur in Waltham and Cambridgeport, which are addressed by Mr. Robert Treat Paine, Jr., and speakers from the headquarters. On the following day the Independents of Worcester organize, and on the 12th the first great demonstration is made in Newton, where the crowd listens with enthusiasm to Messrs. E. B. Haskell, Colonel Lyman, Colonel Higginson, and Dr. Everett. The next day Messrs. Storey, Frank E. Hatch of Medford, and others address the Malden Independents. Repeated reports are received that the opposition to Blaine is very strong in Berkshire County, and the heavy mail which is brought in daily at headquarters is ample proof of a wide popular interest.

At the meeting on the 13th, Messrs. Pierce, Hoar, and C. B. Fox are appointed a committee to oversee the printing and distribution of ballots. On the 14th, Messrs. Storey, Quincy, and Sherman Hoar speak at Hyde Park. The Hon. Henry L. Pierce is one of the speakers at Milton on the same night, and the platform is shared with Messrs. A. M. Howe and W. D. Austin. Further information is received of the growth of the revolt in Franklin County, and news from all portions of the State is highly encouraging. Colonel Higginson and Mr. Gamaliel Bradford voice the views of the Wellesley Independents, and addresses to the anti-Blaine wing of the party, issued by local bolters, appear in Springfield, Brockton, and Cambridgeport. On the following evening, Messrs. Clarke and Paine speak at Cambridgeport for Cleveland, Messrs. Everett and Paine in Somerville, and Colonel Lyman and Mr. Storey in Dedham.

October 16, the Independents of the Ninth District request Mr. Paine to stand for Congress. The next day Colonel Codman speaks at a rally of Worcester Independents. On the 20th, an organization is effected in Salem by about thirty persons. The *Boston Herald* of October 20 announces that the western counties are alive with converts to the anti-Blaine cause. On the 21st, Dr. Everett is on the stump in Taunton; Colonel Codman, Gamaliel Bradford, and Jabez Fox speak at Lexington; Mr. Williams and Colonel Lyman are at Medford.

CARL SCHURZ'S SPEECH.

On the evening of October 22, Carl Schurz speaks in Tremont Temple. His reception is enthusiastic to an extreme, and thousands

of people are unable to gain even admission to the building. Says the Boston *Herald's* account : —

“ The doors of Tremont Temple were thrown open at six o'clock, and the crowd of people which then thronged about the doors poured into the edifice in one continuous stream until every seat and every point where a view of the stage could be obtained was occupied. But the people still came. The corridors and aisles and stairways were filled — but they still came. The Meionaon was thrown open. It was soon filled. People still continued to gather. The entrance, clear to the door, was soon crowded, and then even the sidewalks were blockaded, until the street opposite the Temple was filled by fully 3,000 people who could not enter. . . . When Mr. Schurz arose, in response to the flattering presentation of Colonel Codman, he was again greeted by a demonstration of honor and esteem which would not have been considered beneath their notice by the greatest crowned heads of the world. Mr. Schurz was visibly affected as he rose. His face was very pale and his lip quivered. As he attempted to speak he was interrupted by cheers, and Mr. George Fred Williams called for three cheers for the German ‘adventurer,’ which were given with a will and a tiger. Finally, when the acclaim had subsided somewhat, so that he could be heard, Mr. Schurz again attempted to speak, but could not utter a word, he was so overcome by the plaudits of the people, and was obliged to retire to his seat. After a moment or so, he again arose and began.”

The speech continues for an hour and fifty minutes, and is continually interrupted by applause. Mr. Schurz criticises severely the record of Mr. Blaine, especially his railroad transactions. Some of his most telling sentences are these : —

“ I think this country has never presented a more strange and a more remarkable period than it does at this time. We are engaged in those discussions which precede the election of a President of the United States, — discussions which ought to be fruitful for the political education of the people, drawing within their range all those things that concern the public welfare. And here we find the American people seriously divided upon a question of elementary honesty. . . . Fellow-citizens, if you consider how this Republic will stand before the world if such an election is made, let me say to you — and no well-informed man will deny it — that there is not a moral citizen on the globe who will not condemn Mr. Blaine. [Loud applause.] Your quibbles may blind you, but they cannot change the judgment of mankind. If you elect Mr. Blaine, you will assert that lying is consistent with the strictest honor and integrity of man. [Loud applause.] And that what the American calls honest the world will call corrupt. [Renewed applause.] I am an adopted citizen, born in a foreign land. Must I speak to you of the honor of the American Republic? God forbid! But

I say to you I am an American citizen as well. [Loud and continued applause.] My children were born in this country, and under the American flag, and I hope they will die here, and they will die as proud of their country as any citizen ever was proud of it. [Applause.] Now, then, what is the necessity of the situation? The American people owe it to themselves, they owe it to their children, they owe it to their standing in the civilized world, that they enter a solid and emphatic protest against these false and depraved moral standards that of late have been set up here. Let it be known that no party, be it ever so great, ever so powerful, and ever so uplifted by the past, can afford to nominate a man for the Presidency whose election would mean a debasement and degradation of the public conscience. That party should be, and will be, defeated upon that very issue, and overwhelmingly defeated. [Applause and cries of 'Good!'] . . . If we lose in this great fight, then the corrupt tendencies, so brilliantly set forth and represented and embodied by James G. Blaine, will be felt in generations to come; but if we win in this great struggle, then so long as we live, as our children live, and their children's children live, no political party in the United States will dare again to nominate a man for the Presidency whose record is not clean." [Applause.]

Col. Theodore Lyman presides at the meeting in the Meionaon, and the Hon. John F. Andrew is the first speaker. A few of his words are these :—

"For myself, I have never voted anything but the Republican ticket, and in that I differ from many of the Republican advocates in this State; but if I live until the fourth day of November next, I shall cast my first ballot for a Democratic President, and vote for Grover Cleveland, of New York; for I believe that he has shown, in the important public offices in which he has been placed, that he can be an honest, able, and fearless executive officer, while the Republicans, in choosing a candidate twice rejected on account of his damaged political character, have disgraced their party and insulted the integrity of the American people. It is not an agreeable thing to leave the party in which you have been born, and in which you hoped always to live; but when the question comes between mere party success and the existence of honest government, then every true citizen will stand by his country and let his party look to itself."

Says Mr. Josiah Quincy :—

"There is adequate cause for leaving the Republican party when a man of Blaine's character is put up. No better reason could be found, nor a better time. As far as the frailty of human intellect goes, we can be sure that the action of our Independents will be proper. It was started with right intentions, and will bear good fruits. . . . It seems to me the people

of this country fought the war of the Rebellion to gain a united country. Nothing would conduce more to that end and allay sectional bitterness between the North and South, than to show, after twenty years' time, that we are willing to trust our brothers of the South with some share in the control of the Federal government. [Applause.] Nothing could better tend to secure a free ballot in the South. The hand of fellowship should be extended from the North to the South, so that no North and no South should be known, but there should be a united whole."

Messrs. Moorfield Storey and G. F. Williams follow with brief speeches. Mr. Schurz appears for a moment and bows his acknowledgments, amid a storm of applause. Afterward he is tendered a reception by the Boston Turnverein, and at Turn Hall, on Middlesex Street, addresses his countrymen in their mother tongue upon the political issues of the day.

The elaborate torchlight procession which has been prepared is a complete failure, owing to the heavy rain of the early evening.

On the evening of October 24, Messrs. Everett, Fox, G. F. Williams, and Quincy address a large audience in the Parker Memorial Hall, and Messrs. Monroe, Quincy, Everett, and Storey are on the platform at the Dudley Street Opera House. The Woburn Independents, on the 27th, are addressed by Messrs Chamberlain, Codman, and G. F. Williams.

THE SECOND ADDRESS.

On the same day, the second address issued by the committee is adopted, and appears in the newspapers of the following morning. It reads thus : —

" To the Voters of Massachusetts :

By the nomination of James G. Blaine, the Republican party dared to ask the voters of this country to select as their President a man convicted by his own testimony and his own writings of dishonesty and of trading upon his official position, who stands to-day as the representative of corrupt men and corrupt methods which have brought disgrace upon the American name.

By the nomination of Grover Cleveland, the Democratic party selected as their candidate one of the most conspicuous representatives of honest government, a man who had already acquired a national reputation for his upright, impartial, and efficient administration of a great executive office.

In choosing between these two men, there ought to have been, and with

many thousands of Republican and Independent voters there was, no hesitation. The revolt against the Republican nominee was immediate, and extended throughout the country. To offset this revolt, the Republicans have been able to raise no real and honest issue; nor have they been able to find any blot on the public record of the opposing candidate. In sheer desperation, certain persons, with the countenance and encouragement of leading Republicans, have employed a weapon the easiest to use and the most insidious, — a charge against the private life of the Democratic candidate. The weapon was worthy of the cause. The charge first brought, which contained but one truth amidst a mass of falsehoods, did not satisfy them. A flood of scandalous, filthy, and disgusting stories have been manufactured and spread over the land. With malignant zeal, they have been sent everywhere, even into private families, to women as well as to men. Some clergymen of Buffalo have stooped so low as to be instruments in the circulation of these vile stories.

The assurance with which they have been spread broadcast has caused many persons to forget the public and private testimonials of personal esteem which have been offered the assailed on many conspicuous occasions by those who knew him best, and to fear lest their votes, if cast for him, would contribute to elevate to the Presidency a man of disgraceful life. In view of the fact that these charges have at last been reduced to definite form by certain clergymen of Buffalo, we have thought it wise to inform our fellow-citizens of the truth.

Careful, thorough, and independent investigations have been made personally in Buffalo and elsewhere by several members of this committee, under its authority, and by leading citizens of Buffalo. As a result of their investigations, we are satisfied that each and all of the statements formulated by these clergymen are absolutely false, with the single exception of the offence committed eleven years ago, already admitted, the facts of which have been grossly misrepresented.

We submit to our fellow-citizens that the introduction into this campaign of these foul and baseless charges was an offence deserving the utmost condemnation.

The issue presented to the people of the United States cannot thus be evaded or concealed. It is the choice between the representative of honest government, and on the other hand the betrayer of official trusts. We hope and are confident that they will meet the issue, and will pronounce emphatically in favor of Grover Cleveland.

Charles R. Codman, President; Moses Williams, Secretary. George F. Williams, Darwin E. Ware, William H. Forbes, Samuel Hoar, Moorfield Storey, Phineas Pierce, Jabez Fox, George V. Leverett, F. F. Raymond, 2d, Charles B. Fox, Stephen M. Weld, Samuel M. Quincy, Winslow Warren, Charles C. Jackson, Archibald M. Howe, A. J. C. Sowdon, Emil Heidenreich, Executive Committee of the Committee of One Hundred."

On the 29th, Messrs. Codman and Storey address an enthusiastic meeting of Independents in Fitchburg. That same night, in Boston, occurs a great torchlight parade of Cleveland men. At the committee meeting of this day, a committee is appointed to look after the distribution of ballots in the Cape towns where the Independents have no suitable representatives.

FANEUIL HALL BUSINESS MEN'S MEETING.

At twelve o'clock Thursday, Oct. 30, begins the demonstration of anti-Blaine business men in Faneuil Hall. The old hall is crowded, even to the stairways. Col. Codman calls to order, and Gen. Francis A. Osborn presides. Says the General in his speech:—

“The issue of the campaign has long been fixed. It is clearly understood, and nothing can divert the minds of thinking men from it. It is not the tariff; it is not the currency. On both these important subjects the line of division runs through the two great parties of the country and not between them. [Applause.] It is not a question of the control of the South; that matter was relinquished by the national administration eight years ago, with the happiest result to the whole country. [Applause.] But the real issue stated in its simplest form is this: Shall we allow the rule of this great nation to pass into the hands of the men who have used their influence in the past, and who mean to use whatever power they can acquire in the future, not for their country's good, but for their own aggrandizement and for the promotion of their own ambition? [Applause.] The greatest danger which threatens this country to-day, the evil which, if not met and conquered, will give republican institutions the severest strain they have yet known, is the ever-increasing accumulation of irresponsible power in the hands of men who care nothing for the public weal, but who are bent only on promoting their own selfish ends.” [Applause.]

The Hon. Daniel Dougherty, of Philadelphia, speaks at much length, and his counsel is thus given:—

“Elect Mr. Blaine and your rights will be gone. Therefore, I beg and implore you, give no votes for Blaine. Whom ought you to vote for? [Cries of ‘Cleveland.’] I did not advocate the nomination of Mr. Cleveland for the Presidency, but I believe, from the depths of my heart, that the safety and honor of my country depend upon the election of Grover Cleveland. [Tremendous applause and cheering.] His whole record shines with one motto,—fidelity to public trusts. [Great applause.] He has no complications with machine politicians; he has boldly stated that he despises the trickery of parties; he is devotedly attached to truth.” [Applause.]

Dr. William Everett concludes his speech with these earnest words : —

“ I call upon every one here, no matter how much he may be attached to this party or to that, to abandon that candidate who has made the name of his party to stink in the nostrils of every honest man [applause], all to unite in favor of the only candidate whom it is possible to elect, in favor of the only man who has steadily shown himself the enemy of all corruption and dishonesty ; the man who has made the great reform governor of the Empire State ; the man whom the Independents chose, even before the Democrats nominated him. I call upon you to choose the man of the people, and not of a party, — Grover Cleveland, of New York.” [Applause.]

In his arraignment of Mr. Blaine, Ex-Senator Bainbridge Wadleigh says : —

“ I oppose Mr. Blaine for another reason ; because in his public life he has been the tool and the attorney and the lobbyist of the great corporations that have swallowed up the public lands. I believe that if he was seated in the White House, Jay Gould, and every man who can produce a letter written by Mr. Blaine in regard to his business affairs, will be able to coerce Mr. Blaine into giving him what he wants. He will sit there, not as your agent, not as the servant of the people, but as the tool of the ring he has served so long. I oppose him, too, because he has put himself on record as in favor of keeping up a tariff which will produce an immense surplus, which is not needed by the government, and which he wishes to divide among the States, thus blotting out all State rights, as it were, destroying our form of government.”

In a letter dated October 29, written to be read at the meeting, the Hon. John M. Forbes gives his reasons for opposing Mr. Blaine : —

“ *First.* I object to Mr. Blaine because I have studied his correspondence (new and old) with Mr. Fisher and others, and because I have entire faith in Mr. Mulligan’s testimony regarding the circumstances under which the first letters were brought before the public in 1876. This faith is based not only on Mr. Mulligan’s unimpeached reputation, but also from personal knowledge of him. I consider those letters alone amply sufficient in any ordinary case ; but when confirmed by Mr. Mulligan’s testimony and Mr. Blaine’s own admission before his colleague in Congress, I can find no possible room for doubt that Mr. Blaine stands convicted of having offered for sale his political influence, and of having tried to suborn the witness called to testify upon his case. Either offence seems to me to absolutely disqualify him from leading upward and onward the Republican party,

which many of us still believe to be the party of progress and of honest government, and which we expect to see assume that position again, either when Mr. Blaine is defeated or when the Democratic party may have justified the fears of its enemies by maladministration. The election of Mr. Blaine I should consider the suicide of the Republican party and the inauguration of a new one which would combine the worst elements of American politics, now represented by Messrs. Blaine, Butler, Kelly, and Denis Kearney.

Second. I object to Mr. Blaine because his management of our foreign affairs while Secretary of State was sensational and eminently dangerous, warning us against what he might do in the Presidency.

Third. Remembering, as I do, that the twenty-five millions of our people who support the Democratic ticket, with the exception of a very small fraction, are just about as honest and patriotic as those who compose our own party, and recollecting, too, that we have on the latter our full share of Star Route and other soldiers of fortune, I can only reach the conclusion, already suggested in my former letter to the Boston meeting of Independents, that there is less danger to-day trying the experiment of a Democratic turn, which I thought premature when Sumner, Greeley, and other such men tried it, than there would be in promoting the election of Mr. Blaine, allied as I believe him to be with Gen. Butler, and subject, if elected, not only to his influence, but to that of the Star Route and stock-speculating clique of Republicans who now seem to gather around him.

Fourth. I object to Mr. Blaine because, when Speaker, he appointed Gen. Butler chairman of the Committee upon Civil-Service Reform, thus showing in the most active way possible his hostility to that important measure."

Mr. Matthew Hale, writing from Albany for the meeting, says:—

"What the country needs is an honest and frugal administration. Such an administration will aid the business of the country more than anything else. Governor Cleveland has shown, in the executive offices which he has already filled, great power to resist and defeat corrupt schemes. His administration as mayor of Buffalo and as governor of New York has commanded the approval and commendation of the best people of the city and of the State. His public life heretofore is a guarantee for his future public life. He is strong in those things in which his adversary is lamentably weak, namely, in stern and aggressive honesty and conscientious devotion to public duty. The reports derogatory to his character in private life since he has been governor are believed by every resident of this city, who has any knowledge on the subject, to be base inventions and utterly false. Although a Republican, I cannot doubt that Governor Cleveland's election to the Presidency will prove a blessing to the country and to all its business interests."

THE END OF THE CAMPAIGN.

Numerous other rallies are held all over the State under the management of the Independents, even up to the night before election. November 4 is neither pleasant nor stormy in Massachusetts, and is fairly favorable to a full vote. Mr. Blaine secures the fourteen electors by a largely reduced Republican vote, but is defeated by the country. For the first time in the history of the Republican party, its candidate fails to receive a majority of the votes of the State. The tables below give the result of the enthusiastic work of the Independents against the Republican nominee.

At the meeting of the Executive Committee, November 7, on motion by Mr. William H. Forbes, it is voted that a committee be appointed to mature a plan for permanent organization to be reported to the committee, with a view of submitting it to the Committee of One Hundred. Messrs. Codman, Storey, Forbes, Pierce, Warren, and Leverett are appointed. The report of this committee is still (December 4) under consideration by the Executive Committee. Some plan will undoubtedly be adopted, as each member of the Executive Committee is in favor of a permanent organization. The only difference of opinion is regarding its scope and details.

AN ECONOMICAL MANAGEMENT.

In expenditures, the committee kept within an amount so small that it seems incredible, when it is considered what a great amount of effective work was done. Probably no equal amount of campaign work has been done in the State with so small an expense bill at the end. This was due chiefly to the policy laid down at the outset. It was, determined unanimously that no poll taxes were to be paid. Men of "influence," who said they had votes they could control, were quickly given to understand that they had come to the wrong place to market their goods. Such men there were who made their appearance for a few days after the headquarters were opened, but their cool reception soon put an end to any attempted negotiations. No money was spent on kerosene torches, campaign uniforms, or brass bands. The committee resorted to no such means, but devoted itself wholly to the work of arousing and informing the conscience and the judgment of those to whom it appealed. They conducted a clean, effective, and economical campaign. Looking back, it can be

said truly that hardly a dollar was disbursed which is not proved to have been wisely spent. Most of the canvassers employed by the committee were volunteers, who gave their time. One or two, who were very much interested, but could not afford to give their time, were paid for their canvassing, but most of the work was voluntary. A large proportion of the towns was visited, and every town in the State, except some twelve to twenty, was represented in the movement. Not a speech was paid for. Every man who took the stump gave his services. Expenses were paid frequently by the general or by the local committee, but not a cent of compensation was ever paid for speeches.

CAMPAIGN DOCUMENTS.

Immediately after the organization of the committee, the preparation of campaign documents was begun. Chief of the documents issued by this committee was "Mr. Blaine's Record," prepared almost entirely by Mr. Moorfield Storey. It was a thorough representation of Mr. Blaine before the Democratic investigating committee of 1876, and contained in the appendix the Mulligan letters entire. Other documents sent out by the committee during the campaign were the Address to the Country, adopted unanimously by the National Conference of Independents and Republicans in New York, July 22; the address of Colonel Charles R. Codman, as chairman of that conference; the address of Carl Schurz at Brooklyn, August 5, in German and English; an address in German and English to the voters of Massachusetts by the Executive Committee; the address of the Rev. James Freeman Clarke at Tremont Temple, October 1; an address to the voters of the State, contradicting the charges current against Mr. Cleveland's private character; an address of Dr. William Everett at Quincy; and an open letter by the Hon. Samuel E. Sewall, of Melrose. The committee also purchased and circulated copies of an article on "Private Character and Public Office," by George S. Merriam, reprinted from the *Springfield Republican* of August 26; "Cant, Chastity, and Charity in Politics," a communication from Lyman H. Bagg in the *Nation* of October 9; the pamphlet of the New York *Evening Post* on Mr. Blaine's railroad record; Strobel's review of Blaine's foreign policy; and the Supplement to Harper's *Weekly* containing the Mulligan letters. During the campaign, 729,638 documents were contracted for by the committee and nearly all of them were distributed.

CO-WORKERS WITH MASSACHUSETTS.

Associated with the Boston committee were other organizations in the large cities. In New Haven, Conn., Simeon E. Baldwin was president; Talcott H. Russell, secretary; and George D. Miller, treasurer. James F. Colby was one of the conspicuous workers on the executive committee.

The Philadelphia organization had for president, Henry C. Lea; first vice-president, Stuart Wood; second vice-president, Joseph Parrish; secretary, Lincoln N. Eyre.

In Indianapolis, Lucius B. Swift was chairman, and George W. Evans, secretary.

The Buffalo club had Ansley Wilcox for chairman, and Ralph Stone for secretary.

In Chicago the secretary of the club was E. Burritt Smith.

There was organized in Keene, N. H., from the Boston headquarters, an anti-Blaine club, with Colonel Stone for chairman, and W. P. Huntington, secretary, which had general charge of the movement in Cheshire County, and did good work.

In Brattleboro, Vt., George E. Crowell was chairman of the club, and O. M. Thomas, secretary. This club signalized its formation by the defeat of Colonel Hooker of Brattleboro, as a candidate for the Legislature, solely on the Blaine issue. It was the first time the Republican party had been defeated in that town since its formation in 1856.

THE MASSACHUSETTS CLUBS.

The formal organizations in the State, and the officers of each with whom the Boston headquarters had most to do, were as follows: —

Cambridge. — Colonel T. W. Higginson, chairman of the club; Walter S. Swan, chairman of the executive committee; H. W. Stevens, secretary.

Medford. — George H. Sampson, chairman; Roswell Lawrence, secretary.

Quincy. — W. B. Rice, chairman; Dr. W. H. Faxon, chairman of the executive committee; John O. Hall, secretary.

Chelsea. — Elbridge C. Donnell, president; Hervey D. Logan, secretary.

Concord. — George A. King, president; Sherman Hoar, secretary.

Newton. — John S. Farlow, president; Francis B. Tiffany, secretary.

Winchester. — William Webb, chairman of the executive committee; D. W. Dunton, secretary.

Somerville. — John Herbert, president; H. C. Hall, secretary.

- Weston.* — Francis Blake, chairman ; Horace S. Sears, secretary.
Westboro. — George O. Brigham, chairman ; George S. Eddy, secretary.
Melrose. — Samuel E. Sewall, president ; J. W. Farwell, vice-president ; Justin E. Boynton, secretary.
Waltham. — George E. Johnson, president ; George S. Fiske, secretary.
Brockton. — Dr. H. H. Filoon, chairman.
Greenfield. — Gorham D. Williams, secretary.
Hyde Park. — Hamilton A. Hill, president ; Galen L. Stone, secretary.
West Boylston. — A. H. Wood, president ; J. Greenwood, Jr., secretary.
Berkshire County Club. — George W. Dutton, president ; C. S. Rackemann, secretary.
Wollaston. — J. G. Witham, president ; Herbert Marshall, secretary.
Wellesley. — Lyman K. Putney, president ; E. Albert Wood, secretary.
Everett. — Samuel Freeman, president ; J. M. Bassett, secretary.
Fitchbury (Club No. 1). — D. W. Tinsley, president ; Robert E. Holgate, secretary ; Club No. 2, T. K. Ware, chairman.
Northampton. — Prof. J. B. Clark, president ; the Rev. E. L. Jaggard, secretary.
Worcester. — Joseph H. Walker, president ; Frederic Kimball, secretary.
Springfield. — George A. Denison, secretary.
Lexington. — E. P. Bliss, secretary.
Stoughton. — Charles W. Gardner, secretary.
Milton. — John Littlefield, president ; George R. R. Rivers, secretary.
North Attleboro. — O. M. Draper, president ; J. Devlin, secretary.
Woburn. — W. V. Kellen, president ; W. F. Davis, secretary.
Salem. — The Rev. Edmund B. Willson, president ; E. C. Browne, secretary.
Natick. — Edmund M. Wood, president ; George W. Sawin, secretary.

Besides these, there were clubs in other towns of which there is no record at the Independent headquarters.

LIST OF SPEAKERS SUPPLIED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| George D. Ayers of Malden. | H. W. Chaplin of Boston. |
| John F. Andrew of Boston. | George A. Denison of Springfield. |
| W. D. Austin of Boston. | W. B. De Las Casas of Malden. |
| John A. Bennett of Boston. | Richard H. Dana of Boston. |
| Gamaliel Bradford of Cambridge. | Sanford H. Dudley of Boston. |
| Rev. Jas. Freeman Clarke of Boston. | Dr. William Everett of Quincy. |
| Charles R. Codman of Barnstable. | Dr. Samuel Eliot of Boston. |
| Robert P. Clapp of Boston. | Charles S. Ensign of Newton. |
| H. S. Carruth of Boston. | Frederick P. Fish of Boston. |
| F. A. Claffin of Quincy. | Samuel Freeman of Everett. |
| Rev. N. H. Chamberlain of Boston. | Charles E. Grinnell of Boston. |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Col. T. W. Higginson of Cambridge. | Henry W. Putnam of Boston. |
| Archibald M. Howe of Cambridge. | Josiah Quincy of Quincy. |
| George C. Hodges of Lincoln. | C. S. Rackemann of Pittsfield. |
| Charles E. Hibbard of Lee. | W. R. Richards of Boston. |
| George S. Hale of Boston. | A. J. C. Sowdon of Boston. |
| Sherman Hoar of Concord. | Moorfield Storey of Brookline. |
| Frank E. Hatch of Medford. | James H. Slade of Quincy. |
| R. F. Johannot of Boston. | C. C. Soule of Brookline. |
| George R. Kennedy of Worcester. | Stephen H. Tyng of Boston. |
| Alvine W. Kibby of Webster. | Thomas H. Talbot of Boston. |
| David Kirkwood of Malden. | W. W. Vaughan of Boston. |
| Col. Theodore Lyman of Brookline. | Bainbridge Wadleigh of Boston. |
| Rev. William R. Lord of Quincy. | Winslow Warren of Dedham. |
| W. W. McClench of Chicopee. | George F. Williams of Dedham. |
| Robert Treat Paine, Jr., of Waltham. | Moses Williams of Brookline. |

MEETINGS ADDRESSED.

Data are not available for a complete list of meetings addressed by speakers sent from Boston. Nearly all of them, however, appear in the following list, as taken from the records. A possibility of error exists when a change in an appointment was made at the last moment, and was not entered on the book:—

Oct. 2, at Hingham, Dr. Everett.

— Oct. 7, at New Bedford, Messrs. Higginson and Storey.

Oct. 8, at Everett, Messrs. Everett, Hatch, and Sowdon; at Chelsea, Messrs. Dudley and Carruth; at Beverly Farms, Mr. Ayers.

Oct. 9, at East Boston, Messrs. Higginson and Storey; at Weymouth Landing, Mr. Hatch; at North Billerica, G. F. Williams and David Kirkwood.

Oct. 10, at Waltham, Messrs. Paine, Everett, and G. F. Williams; in Ward 25, Boston, Mr. Ayers.

Oct. 11, at West Boylston, Messrs. Warren and Sowdon.

Oct. 12, at Newton, Messrs. Everett, Haskell, Lyman, and Higginson.

Oct. 13, at Malden, Messrs. Storey, Hatch, and Merrill; at Athol, W. R. Richards.

Oct. 14, at Hyde Park, Messrs. Josiah Quincy, Storey, and Sherman Hoar; at Milton Lower Mills, Messrs. Higginson and Howe; at Wellesley, Messrs. Bradford and Higginson; at Cohasset, Mr. Howe.

Oct. 15, at Somerville, Messrs. Everett, Paine, and Hatch; at Cambridge, Messrs. Clarke, Paine, and Everett; at Attleboro, Mr. Quincy; at Dedham, Messrs. Lyman and Storey; at Chelsea, Messrs. James H. Slade and Charles E. Grinnell.

Oct. 16, at Braintree, Messrs. Everett and G. F. Williams; at Williamstown, Messrs. Howe and Henry H. Wentworth; at Duxbury, Mr. Quincy.

Oct. 17, at Concord, Messrs. Samuel Hoar and G. F. Williams; at Pittsfield, Messrs. Higginson and Howe; at Middleboro, Mr. J. A. Bennett; at Nantasket, Messrs. F. A. Claflin and Grinnell; at Worcester, Messrs. Walker, Codman, and Quincy; at Fall River, Colonel Lyman; at North Attleboro, Messrs. Everett and Hatch.

Oct. 18, at Brockton, Messrs. Everett and G. F. Williams; at Northboro, Mr. Hatch.

Oct. 20, at Springfield, Messrs. Codman and Hibbard; at Wollaston, Mr. Bennett; at Melrose, Judge Sewall and Messrs. Higginson and Storey; at Westboro, Messrs. Lord and Hodges.

Oct. 21, at Medford, Messrs. Lyman and G. F. Williams; at Lexington, Messrs. Bradford, Codman, and Jabez Fox; at Sandwich, Mr. Putnam; at Taunton, Dr. Everett; at Fairhaven, Mr. Warren.

Oct. 22, the Schurz meeting in Tremont Temple, with overflow in the Meionaon.

Oct. 23, at West Newton, Messrs. Higginson and Bradford; at Natick, Messrs. Lyman and Moses Williams; at Kingston and Plymouth, Messrs. G. F. Williams, Everett, and Warren; at Stoneham, Mr. Bennett; at Fiskdale (Sturbridge), Mr. Putnam; at Plymouth, Mr. Howe; at South Abington, Mr. Hatch.

Oct. 24, at Abington, Messrs. Higginson and Howe; at Foxboro, Colonel Lyman; at Roxbury, Messrs. Quincy, Everett, and Storey; at Boston (Parker Memorial), Messrs. Everett, Fox, G. F. Williams, and Quincy; at Uxbridge, Mr. Dudley; at Jamaica Plain, Messrs. C. P. Bowditch (presided), Storey, and Moses Williams; at Dedham, Messrs. Everett and Thomas H. Talbot; at Milford, Mr. Howe; at Acton, Mr. Chamberlain; at Stoughton and Holbrook, Messrs. Claflin, Lord, Quincy, and Hatch.

Oct. 27, at Woburn, Messrs. Codman, G. F. Williams, and Chamberlain; at Webster, Mr. Howe; at Weston, Mr. Lord; at Rockland, Mr. Hatch.

Oct. 28, at Weymouth Landing, Mr. Lord; at Charlestown, Messrs. Codman, Wadleigh, Storey, and Clarke; at East Lexington, Professor W. A. Keener, and B. S. Ladd; at South Framingham, Messrs. Andrew and Quincy; at Reading, Mr. R. H. Dana; at Northampton, Mr. G. F. Williams; at Ashland, Mr. Storey; at Harvard, Mr. Howe; at Billerica, Messrs. Chaplin and Richards; at Brighton, Messrs. Paine and Chamberlain; at Charlton, Messrs. Clapp, Kibby, and Hodges.

Oct. 29, at Leicester, Mr. Dana; at Franklin, Mr. Moses Williams; at Fitchburg, Messrs. Eli Culley (presided), Codman, and Storey; at Clinton, Mr. Hatch.

Oct. 30, at North Attleboro, Mr. G. F. Williams; at Marlboro, Messrs. Lyman, Moses Williams, and Sherman Hoar; at Salem, the Rev. E. B. Willson (presided), Wadleigh, and Storey; at Winchendon, Professor Keener; at East Douglas, Mr. Bennett; at Revere, Mr. Chamberlain; at North Brookfield, Mr. Howe; at Barnstable, Messrs. Codman and Lord; at Brockton, Messrs. Quincy and George S. Hale; at Danvers, Mr. Tyng; at Andover, Mr. Bradford; at Cohasset, Mr. Clapp.

Oct. 31, at Barre, Mr. Bennett; at Worcester, Messrs. Wadleigh, Walker, and Lord; at Winchester, Mr. Howe; at Westboro, Messrs. Lyman and Storey; at Holyoke, Mr. Bradford; at Walpole, Colonel J. H. Ellis and Mr. Hodges; at South Weymouth, Mr. Chamberlain.

Nov. 1, at New Bedford, Messrs. Chaplin and Claflin; at West Dedham, Mr. F. P. Fish; at Everett, Mr. Lord; at Springfield, Messrs. Wadleigh and Andrew; at Melrose, Messrs. Howe, Moses Williams, and Hodges; at Orange, Messrs. Vaughan and Dudley; at West Boylston, Messrs. Dana and Kibby; at Warren, Messrs. H. W. Holland and G. A. Denison; at Cambridge, Messrs. Samuel Eliot, George S. Hale, Jabez Fox, and Warren; at Malden, Mr. Hodges; at Haverhill, Messrs. E. N. Hill, Codman, and Hatch; at Ayer Junction, Mr. Ladd.

Nov. 3, at Milton, Messrs. Lyman, Conness, and Pierce; at New Bedford, Mr. Bradford; at Waltham, Messrs. Lord and Paine; at South Abington, Mr. Grinnell; at Middleboro, Mr. Dana; at Hingham, Messrs. Higginson and Jabez Fox; at Attleboro, Mr. Howe; at Gloucester, Mr. Hale; at Hyde Park, Messrs. Moses Williams and Warren; at Lowell, Mr. Chamberlain; at Concord,

Mr. Hatch ; at Holliston, Messrs. Ladd and Keener ; at Gardner, Mr. Claflin ; at Manchester, Mr. Clapp ; at Woburn, Mr. Chaplin ; at Newburyport, Mr. Las Casas ; at Merrimac, Mr. Holland.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE AND ITS WORK.

While the Independents of Massachusetts congratulate themselves upon the strength of their movement, it is fitting that they should know more particularly than they can by common report the services rendered by the Executive Committee. These men have given their time, their labor, and their enthusiasm to the work of defeating a nomination which all the Independents believed to be unworthy. Some of them have laid aside their business almost entirely, and given themselves, with the reward only of their devotion, to organizing and spreading the anti-Blaine uprising. They have brought an earnest persistence, a sound judgment, a far-reaching enterprise, and a strong moral inspiration to their cause, without which the spontaneous local efforts in the separate cities and towns would have failed to accomplish the memorable results actually achieved. Individually and as a body they merit much credit from their fellow-Independents.

As a rule, but few politicians were engaged in the Independent movement. Its supporters were mainly those who had already shown an interest in politics, but they were not men who were ambitious for office. The movement was strongest in Suffolk, Norfolk, Middlesex, Worcester, and Berkshire Counties. It had good strength in Hampden, Hampshire and Franklin, and in portions of Bristol, Plymouth, and Essex. It was weak in Barnstable, Dukes, and Nantucket, although several towns in Barnstable had a good proportion of Independent voters.

No other State approached Massachusetts in thoroughness of organization. Representatives of the committee, or correspondents, were secured in nearly every town in the State. Before election, the organization was nearly as thorough as that of the Democratic party, as regards efficiency of work, though town committees were not usually formed. In New York, the spontaneous local clubs put themselves in communication with the headquarters in New York City, but the entire State was far from being reduced to the system established in Massachusetts. In other States, the organizations were still less worthy of the name than in New York, notwithstanding the anti-Blaine Republican vote in some of the States reached many thousands.

For careful cultivation of the field, and for utilization of the material at command, Massachusetts stands easily first. This was due to the earnestness and spirit of the revolt, working in and through the Executive Committee.

IN OTHER STATES.

An attempt to follow the labors of the National Independent Committee would lead the inquirer at once upon the work of the Massachusetts and New York Committees. The organization was too recent for a national committee to be formed from local associations of Independents. The functions of such a committee for New England were discharged by the Massachusetts Committee. It supplied the northern New England States with documents, sent out men to form local clubs, and kept in communication with spontaneous associations in different towns. It also sent men to other States. About a dozen meetings in Maine were addressed by Independents from Massachusetts. At Eastport speeches were made by the Rev. Dr. Rufus Ellis, and Messrs. Winslow Warren, A. J. C. Sowdon, and Harry W. French. Mr. Sowdon spoke several times in Somerset County, and in several different parts of the State meetings advertised as Independent gatherings were addressed by Messrs. Ellis, Warren, French, Josiah Quincy, George C. Hodges, and S. H. Tyng. Organizations in Ohio, Illinois, and Wisconsin were formed under the auspices of the National Committee by men from Massachusetts; while in other Western States the spread of the movement was encouraged by agents of the New York State Committee. In the future, the National Committee will doubtless have an important place, but the Massachusetts and New York Committees really did the work of a national committee.

NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF THE BOLTERS.

It is impossible to ascertain the exact number of Republicans who refused to vote for Mr. Blaine. Some stayed from the polls altogether. Some refused to vote for any Presidential electors, but voted for other candidates on the Republican ticket. Many voted for the Democratic electors only, and for the Republican candidates otherwise. Some voted for the Democratic electors, and for the Democratic candidate for governor, while voting for Republican nominees for other offices. Some voted for the Prohibitory electors, and the Republican ticket otherwise. Some voted the Democratic ticket for electors and State officers. Again, many Demo-

crats voted for Mr. Blaine, and Governor Robinson gained appreciably from the same source. Below is given a table of the entire State, arranged by counties, showing the vote for Governor Robinson, for Mr. Blaine (the first elector at large, Mark Hopkins), Robinson's excess over Blaine, and the gain of the St. John vote over the Almy vote of 1883.

SUFFOLK COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|----------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Boston, | 24,981 | 20,827 | 4,154 | 1,080 | Revere, | 282 | 235 | 47 | 21 |
| Chelsea, | 2,428 | 2,110 | 318 | 82 | Winthrop, | 154 | 111 | 43 | 1 |
| | | | | | Total, | 27,845 | 23,277 | 4,568 | 1,184 |

ESSEX COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|-------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|----------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Amesbury, | 336 | 323 | 13 | 13 | Middleton, | 91 | 90 | 1 | 2 |
| Andover, | 511 | 479 | 32 | 26 | Nahant, | 55 | 43 | 12 | 7 |
| Beverly, | 850 | 815 | 35 | 31 | Newbury, | 199 | 184 | 15 | 9 |
| Boxford, | 103 | 103 | 0 | 3 | Newburyport, | 1,098 | 1,075 | 23 | 27 |
| Bradford, | 280 | 271 | 9 | 2 | North Andover, | 271 | 254 | 17 | 4 |
| Danvers, | 587 | 565 | 22 | 15 | Peabody, | 653 | 624 | 29 | 25 |
| Essex, | 192 | 191 | 1 | 5 | Rockport, | 381 | 379 | 2 | 23 |
| Georgetown, | 253 | 244 | 9 | 10 | Rowley, | 155 | 153 | 2 | 8 |
| Gloucester, | 1,318 | 1,291 | 27 | 108 | Salem, | 2,147 | 2,071 | 76 | 103 |
| Groveland, | 173 | 174 | — 1 | 2 | Salisbury, | 518 | 515 | 3 | 34 |
| Hamilton, | 80 | 77 | 3 | 1 | Saugus, | 279 | 258 | 21 | 20 |
| Haverhill, | 1,839 | 1,773 | 66 | 73 | Swampscott, | 261 | 242 | 19 | 16 |
| Ipswich, | 400 | 378 | 22 | 16 | Topsfield, | 151 | 145 | 6 | 7 |
| Lawrence, | 2,485 | 2,403 | 82 | 115 | Wenham, | 99 | 99 | 0 | 3 |
| Lynn, | 3,662 | 3,463 | 199 | 271 | West Newbury, | 224 | 224 | 0 | 8 |
| Lynnfield, | 88 | 78 | 10 | 11 | | | | | |
| Manchester, | 138 | 135 | 3 | 23 | | | | | |
| Marblehead, | 551 | 548 | 3 | 135 | | | | | |
| Merrimac, | 262 | 247 | 15 | 19 | | | | | |
| Methuen, | 408 | 390 | 18 | 17 | | | | | |
| | | | | | Total, | 21,098 | 20,304 | 794 | 1,189 |

MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|-------------|-----------|---------|--------------------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------|---------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Acton, | 223 | 212 | 11 | 1 | Maynard, | 227 | 215 | 12 | 8 |
| Arlington, | 451 | 410 | 41 | 19 | Medford, | 813 | 687 | 26 | 33 |
| Ashby, | 131 | 131 | 0 | 6 | Melrose, | 657 | 577 | 80 | 33 |
| Ashland, | 223 | 220 | 3 | 7 | Natick, | 689 | 638 | 51 | 36 |
| Ayer, | 213 | 212 | 1 | 14 | Newton, | 1,911 | 1,594 | 317 | 130 |
| Bedford, | 120 | 106 | 14 | 9 | North Reading, | 104 | 99 | 5 | 8 |
| Belmont, | 213 | 169 | 44 | 13 | Pepperell, | 255 | 247 | 8 | 13 |
| Billerica, | 275 | 279 | 4 | 4 | Reading, | 430 | 380 | 50 | 42 |
| Boxboro, | 32 | 31 | 1 | 3 | Sherborn, | 112 | 105 | 7 | 7 |
| Burlington, | 39 | 36 | 3 | 0 | Shirley, | 166 | 164 | 2 | 4 |
| Cambridge, | 4,042 | 3,431 | 611 | 285 | Somerville, | 2,432 | 2,106 | 326 | 114 |
| Carlisle, | 87 | 86 | 1 | 2 | Stoneham, | 556 | 556 | 0 | 41 |
| Chelmsford, | 300 | 296 | 4 | 15 | Stow, | 118 | 102 | 16 | 2 |
| Concord, | 375 | 333 | 42 | 16 | Sudbury, | 131 | 129 | 2 | 1 |
| Dracut, | 157 | 156 | 1 | 1 | Tewksbury, | 163 | 160 | 3 | 9 |
| Dunstable, | 52 | 52 | 0 | 0 | Townsend, | 215 | 210 | 5 | 11 |
| Everett, | 544 | 486 | 58 | 46 | Tyngsboro, | 84 | 79 | 5 | 0 |
| Framingham, | 603 | 579 | 24 | 19 | Wakefield, | 637 | 579 | 58 | 36 |
| Groton, | 236 | 223 | 13 | 1 | Waltham, | 1,425 | 1,217 | 208 | 43 |
| Holliston, | 285 | 278 | 7 | 32 | Watertown, | 490 | 446 | 44 | 33 |
| Hopkinton, | 305 | 305 | 0 | 12 | Wayland, | 155 | 151 | 4 | 6 |
| Hudson, | 325 | 307 | 18 | 57 | Westford, | 238 | 233 | 5 | 12 |
| Lexington, | 321 | 264 | 57 | 6 | Weston, | 170 | 156 | 14 | 9 |
| Lincoln, | 83 | 83 | 0 | 4 | Wilmington, | 90 | 85 | 5 | 6 |
| Littleton, | 132 | 125 | 7 | 3 | Winchester, | 418 | 335 | 83 | 24 |
| Lowell, | 4,982 | 4,785 | 197 | 94 | Woburn, | 856 | 795 | 61 | 45 |
| Malden, | 1,532 | 1,350 | 182 | 87 | | | | | |
| Marlboro, | 703 | 662 | 41 | 56 | | | | | |
| | | | | | Total, | 30,526 | 27,654 | 2,872 | 1,519 |

WORCESTER COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|----------------|-----------|---------|--------------------------|----------------------|-------------------|-----------|---------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Ashburnham, | 219 | 218 | 1 | 8 | Northbridge, | 346 | 340 | 6 | 34 |
| Athol, | 475 | 439 | 36 | 20 | North Brookfield, | 355 | 324 | 31 | 27 |
| Auburn, | 98 | 95 | 3 | 7 | Oakham, | 78 | 72 | 6 | 12 |
| Barre, | 256 | 250 | 6 | 14 | Oxford, | 199 | 186 | 13 | 23 |
| Berlin, | 152 | 147 | 5 | 2 | Faxton, | 80 | 82 | — 2 | 4 |
| Blackstone, | 276 | 273 | 3 | 9 | Petersham, | 137 | 132 | 5 | 7 |
| Bolton, | 116 | 107 | 9 | 6 | Phillipston, | 102 | 93 | 9 | 0 |
| Boylston, | 93 | 93 | 0 | 11 | Princeton, | 120 | 119 | 1 | 10 |
| Brookfield, | 323 | 312 | 11 | 23 | Royalston, | 180 | 176 | 4 | 4 |
| Charlton, | 253 | 237 | 16 | 13 | Rutland, | 96 | 93 | 3 | 14 |
| Clinton, | 671 | 630 | 41 | 9 | Shrewsbury, | 184 | 182 | 2 | 31 |
| Dana, | 62 | 58 | 4 | 4 | Southboro, | 194 | 180 | 14 | 4 |
| Douglas, | 186 | 173 | 13 | 17 | Southbridge, | 431 | 413 | 18 | 16 |
| Dudley, | 138 | 134 | 4 | 5 | Spencer, | 570 | 542 | 28 | 45 |
| Fitchburg, | 1,547 | 1,507 | 40 | 57 | Sterling, | 207 | 196 | 11 | 3 |
| Gardner, | 613 | 569 | 34 | 16 | Sturbridge, | 196 | 183 | 13 | 7 |
| Grafton, | 409 | 392 | 17 | 16 | Sutton, | 212 | 211 | 1 | 22 |
| Hardwick, | 202 | 195 | 7 | 3 | Templeton, | 316 | 291 | 25 | 17 |
| Harvard, | 123 | 118 | 5 | 6 | Upton, | 208 | 203 | 5 | 16 |
| Holden, | 221 | 217 | 4 | 8 | Uxbridge, | 319 | 317 | 2 | 7 |
| Hubbardston, | 150 | 145 | 5 | 12 | Warren, | 303 | 290 | 13 | 54 |
| Lancaster, | 221 | 221 | 0 | — 4 | Webster, | 342 | 334 | 8 | 18 |
| Leicester, | 307 | 290 | 17 | 12 | Westboro, | 540 | 495 | 45 | 28 |
| Leominster, | 828 | 780 | 48 | 2 | West Boylston, | 258 | 231 | 27 | 7 |
| Lunenburg, | 125 | 121 | 4 | 12 | West Brookfield, | 140 | 136 | 4 | 32 |
| Mendon, | 117 | 115 | 2 | 8 | Westminster, | 224 | 221 | 3 | 14 |
| Milford, | 790 | 780 | 10 | 12 | Winchendon, | 461 | 475 | — 14 | 36 |
| Millbury, | 373 | 366 | 7 | 8 | Worcester, | 6,233 | 5,954 | 279 | 209 |
| New Braintree, | 54 | 48 | 6 | 3 | | | | | |
| Northboro, | 171 | 160 | 11 | 7 | | | | | |
| | | | | | Total, | 22,600 | 21,661 | 939 | 1,017 |

HAMPSHIRE COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|---------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Amherst, | 434 | 374 | 60 | 81 | Northampton, | 978 | 889 | 89 | 60 |
| Belchertown, | 201 | 178 | 23 | 34 | Pelham, | 52 | 42 | 10 | 14 |
| Chesterfield, | 109 | 107 | 2 | 2 | Plainfield, | 87 | 86 | 1 | 0 |
| Cummington, | 122 | 114 | 8 | 5 | Prescott, | 47 | 47 | 0 | 0 |
| Easthampton, | 348 | 325 | 23 | 25 | South Hadley, | 286 | 247 | 39 | 30 |
| Enfield, | 123 | 107 | 16 | 7 | Southampton, | 146 | 135 | 11 | 4 |
| Goshen, | 57 | 57 | 0 | 0 | Ware, | 387 | 387 | 0 | 9 |
| Granby, | 102 | 73 | 29 | 13 | Westhampton, | 70 | 68 | 2 | 8 |
| Greenwich, | 55 | 53 | 2 | 5 | Williamsburg, | 159 | 153 | 6 | 3 |
| Hadley, | 192 | 171 | 21 | 14 | Worthington, | 105 | 100 | 5 | 5 |
| Hatfield, | 130 | 120 | 10 | 3 | | | | | |
| Huntington, | 118 | 113 | 5 | 1 | | | | | |
| Middlefield, | 69 | 67 | 2 | 0 | | | | | |
| | | | | | Total, | 4,377 | 4,013 | 564 | 323 |

HAMPDEN COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|-------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Agawam, | 123 | 113 | 10 | 14 | Palmer, | 371 | 335 | 36 | 52 |
| Blandford, | 111 | 104 | 7 | 2 | Russell, | 43 | 43 | 0 | 4 |
| Brimfield, | 124 | 96 | 28 | 12 | Southwick, | 101 | 100 | 1 | 1 |
| Chester, | 163 | 155 | 8 | 9 | Springfield, | 3,335 | 2,967 | 368 | 144 |
| Chicopee, | 682 | 567 | 115 | 58 | Tolland, | 38 | 38 | 0 | 0 |
| Granville, | 131 | 121 | 10 | 1 | Wales, | 91 | 83 | 8 | 5 |
| Hampden, | 99 | 96 | 3 | 3 | Westfield, | 697 | 644 | 53 | 46 |
| Holland, | 32 | 32 | 0 | 0 | West Springfield, | 292 | 265 | 27 | 34 |
| Holyoke, | 1,404 | 1,327 | 77 | 68 | Wilbraham, | 167 | 164 | 3 | 18 |
| Longmeadow, | 150 | 125 | 25 | 7 | | | | | |
| Ludlow, | 137 | 122 | 15 | 15 | | | | | |
| Monson, | 379 | 357 | 22 | 18 | | | | | |
| Montgomery, | 44 | 43 | 1 | 2 | | | | | |
| | | | | | Total, | 8,714 | 7,897 | 817 | 513 |

FRANKLIN COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|--------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Ashfield, | 140 | 102 | 38 | 18 | Montague, | 323 | 315 | 8 | 32 |
| Bernardston, | 122 | 116 | 8 | 6 | New Salem, | 123 | 123 | 0 | 9 |
| Buckland, | 124 | 119 | 5 | 12 | Northfield, | 151 | 148 | 3 | 11 |
| Charlemont, | 143 | 143 | 0 | 12 | Orange, | 522 | 486 | 36 | 34 |
| Colrain, | 181 | 178 | 3 | 4 | Rowe, | 73 | 69 | 4 | 5 |
| Conway, | 162 | 159 | 3 | 14 | Shelburne, | 266 | 259 | 7 | 15 |
| Deerfield, | 246 | 246 | 0 | 29 | Shutesbury, | 51 | 49 | 2 | 9 |
| Erving, | 83 | 81 | 2 | 7 | Sunderland, | 116 | 107 | 9 | 12 |
| Gill, | 98 | 86 | 8 | 10 | Warwick, | 73 | 65 | 8 | 0 |
| Greenfield, | 485 | 443 | 42 | 48 | Wendell, | 43 | 40 | 3 | 2 |
| Hawley, | 74 | 72 | 2 | 8 | Whately, | 74 | 65 | 9 | 7 |
| Heath, | 70 | 61 | 9 | 5 | | | | | |
| Leverett, | 76 | 71 | 5 | 16 | | | | | |
| Leyden, | 54 | 53 | 1 | 6 | | | | | |
| Monroe, | 20 | 20 | 0 | .3 | | | | | |
| | | | | | Total, | 3,893 | 3,676 | 217 | 334 |

BERKSHIRE COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Adams, | 530 | 505 | 25 | 12 | New Marlboro, | 124 | 119 | 5 | 15 |
| Alford, | 25 | 23 | 2 | 8 | North Adams, | 970 | 886 | 84 | 73 |
| Becket, | 97 | 92 | 5 | 4 | Otis, | 69 | 68 | 1 | 4 |
| Cheshire, | 120 | 117 | 3 | 10 | Pern, | 66 | 64 | 2 | 3 |
| Clarksburg, | 71 | 71 | 0 | 5 | Pittsfield, | 1,169 | 1,099 | 70 | 22 |
| Dalton, | 169 | 161 | 8 | 17 | Richmond, | 72 | 73 | — | 0 |
| Egremont, | 106 | 104 | 2 | 12 | Sandisfield, | 86 | 80 | 6 | 10 |
| Florida, | 63 | 63 | 0 | 0 | Savoy, | 68 | 67 | 1 | 0 |
| Gt. Barrington, | 452 | 443 | 9 | 26 | Sheffield, | 202 | 194 | 8 | 6 |
| Hancock, | 82 | 82 | 0 | 4 | Stockbridge, | 217 | 199 | 18 | 7 |
| Hinsdale, | 123 | 107 | 16 | 15 | Tyringham, | 51 | 51 | 0 | 0 |
| Lanesboro, | 102 | 101 | 1 | 5 | Washington, | 30 | 26 | 4 | 4 |
| Lee, | 446 | 413 | 33 | 12 | W. Stockbridge, | 145 | 124 | 21 | 10 |
| Lenox, | 122 | 113 | 9 | 5 | Williamstown, | 308 | 286 | 22 | 14 |
| Monterey, | 64 | 61 | 3 | 8 | Windsor, | 70 | 69 | 1 | 2 |
| Mt. Washington, | 25 | 25 | 0 | 1 | | | | | |
| New Ashford, | 15 | 15 | 0 | 0 | | | | | |
| | | | | | Total, | 6,259 | 5,901 | 358 | 314 |

NORFOLK COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|-------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Bellingham, | 115 | 103 | 12 | 6 | Needham, | 263 | 250 | 13 | 15 |
| Braintree, | 363 | 322 | 41 | 16 | Norfolk, | 59 | 56 | 3 | 11 |
| Brookline, | 766 | 613 | 153 | 29 | Norwood, | 245 | 221 | 24 | 10 |
| Canton, | 304 | 295 | 9 | 13 | Quincy, | 957 | 917 | 40 | 82 |
| Cohasset, | 253 | 237 | 16 | 8 | Randolph, | 264 | 262 | 2 | 4 |
| Dedham, | 578 | 502 | 76 | 12 | Sharon, | 122 | 118 | 4 | 6 |
| Dover, | 60 | 51 | 9 | 6 | Stoughton, | 512 | 494 | 18 | 19 |
| Foxboro, | 366 | 354 | 12 | 7 | Walpole, | 244 | 227 | 17 | 1 |
| Franklin, | 355 | 340 | 15 | 20 | Wellesley, | 191 | 172 | 19 | 24 |
| Holbrook, | 297 | 287 | 10 | 7 | Weymouth, | 976 | 923 | 53 | 91 |
| Hyde Park, | 707 | 626 | 81 | 42 | Wrentham, | 281 | 266 | 15 | 10 |
| Medfield, | 150 | 137 | 13 | 2 | | | | | |
| Medway, | 328 | 317 | 11 | 29 | | | | | |
| Milton, | 355 | 261 | 94 | 13 | | | | | |
| | | | | | Total, | 9,111 | 8,351 | 760 | 483 |

PLYMOUTH COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|-----------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Abington, | 401 | 367 | 34 | 19 | Middleboro, | 575 | 554 | 21 | 82 |
| Bridgewater, | 340 | 331 | 9 | 12 | Pembroke, | 137 | 129 | 8 | 3 |
| Brockton, | 1,789 | 1,714 | 75 | 80 | Plymouth, | 803 | 750 | 53 | 20 |
| Carver, | 56 | 56 | 0 | 7 | Plympton, | 50 | 50 | 0 | 1 |
| Duxbury, | 217 | 214 | 3 | 5 | Rochester, | 99 | 98 | 1 | 7 |
| E. Bridgewater, | 282 | 269 | 13 | 13 | Rockland, | 437 | 408 | 29 | 59 |
| Halifax, | 76 | 75 | 1 | 2 | Scituate, | 215 | 209 | 6 | 30 |
| Hanover, | 199 | 190 | 9 | 38 | South Abington, | 376 | 363 | 13 | 32 |
| Hanson, | 116 | 112 | 4 | 4 | South Scituate, | 196 | 186 | 10 | 21 |
| Hingham, | 505 | 459 | 46 | 40 | Wareham, | 230 | 230 | 0 | 9 |
| Hull, | 29 | 26 | 3 | 13 | W. Bridgewater, | 167 | 164 | 3 | 11 |
| Kingston, | 182 | 169 | 13 | 14 | | | | | |
| Lakeville, | 110 | 102 | 8 | 15 | | | | | |
| Marion, | 81 | 82 | — 1 | 17 | | | | | |
| Marshfield, | 159 | 158 | 1 | 7 | | | | | |
| Mattapoisett, | 184 | 188 | — 4 | — 5 | | | | | |
| | | | | | Total, | 8,011 | 7,653 | 358 | 556 |

BRISTOL COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|--------------|-----------|---------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Acnshnet, | 124 | 124 | 0 | 9 | Norton, | 200 | 193 | 7 | 2 |
| Attleboro, | 1,167 | 1,166 | 1 | 8 | Raynham, | 188 | 184 | 4 | 16 |
| Berkley, | 161 | 161 | 0 | 10 | Rehoboth, | 233 | 232 | 1 | 12 |
| Dartmouth, | 349 | 344 | 5 | 2 | Seekonk, | 112 | 112 | 0 | 6 |
| Dighton, | 227 | 227 | 0 | 20 | Somerset, | 287 | 283 | 4 | 1 |
| Easton, | 283 | 270 | 13 | 17 | Swansey, | 173 | 172 | 1 | 6 |
| Fairhaven, | 330 | 331 | —1 | 15 | Taunton, | 2,145 | 2,109 | 36 | 87 |
| Fall River, | 3,342 | 3,204 | 138 | 85 | Westport, | 284 | 281 | 3 | 3 |
| Freetown, | 179 | 179 | 0 | 6 | | | | | |
| Mansfield, | 234 | 208 | 26 | 24 | | | | | |
| New Bedford, | 2,675 | 2,511 | 164 | 103 | Total, | 12,693 | 12,291 | 402 | 422 |

BARNSTABLE COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|-------------|-----------|---------|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------|---------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Barnstable, | 419 | 399 | 20 | 6 | Orleans, | 165 | 159 | 6 | 5 |
| Bourne, | 205 | 188 | 17 | | Provincetown, | 445 | 437 | 8 | 12 |
| Brewster, | 81 | 77 | 4 | 1 | Sandwich, | 233 | 228 | 5 | 20 |
| Chatham, | 201 | 201 | 0 | 4 | Truro, | 95 | 93 | 2 | 8 |
| Dennis, | 285 | 264 | 21 | 9 | Wellfleet, | 194 | 190 | 4 | 4 |
| Eastham, | 56 | 55 | 1 | 9 | Yarmouth, | 257 | 247 | 10 | 12 |
| Falmouth, | 337 | 242 | 45 | 15 | | | | | |
| Harwich, | 263 | 262 | 1 | 25 | Total, | 3,288 | 3,144 | 144 | 131 |
| Mashpee, | 52 | 52 | 0 | 1 | | | | | |

DUKES COUNTY.

| TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. | TOWNS. | Robinson. | Blaine. | Robinson over Blaine. | Prohibition gain. |
|---------------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|----------|-----------|---------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Chilmark, | 65 | 62 | 3 | 2 | Gosnold, | 13 | 12 | 1 | 0 |
| Cottage City, | 75 | 73 | 2 | 18 | Tisbury, | 218 | 213 | 5 | 26 |
| Edgartown, | 188 | 184 | 4 | 5 | | | | | |
| Gay Head, | 24 | 24 | 0 | 0 | Total, | 583 | 568 | 15 | 51 |

NANTUCKET.

Nantucket.... Robinson, 347; Blaine, 328; Robinson over Blaine, 19; Prohibition gain, 16.

SUMMARY BY COUNTIES.

Below is the summary by counties, showing many other statistics than those given above:—

| COUNTIES. | ROBINSON, 1888. | ROBINSON, 1884. | BLAINE. | ROBINSON OVER BLAINE. | ST. JOHN. | ALMY, 1888. | PEIRCE. | ENDICOTT. |
|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|---------|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|---------|-----------|
| Suffolk, | 28,556 | 27,845 | 23,277 | 4,568 | 1,398 | 214 | 28,984 | 30,747 |
| Essex, | 20,351 | 21,098 | 20,304 | 794 | 1,516 | 327 | 21,293 | 14,657 |
| Middlesex, | 29,714 | 30,526 | 27,654 | 2,872 | 1,818 | 299 | 31,884 | 19,843 |
| Worcester, | 22,980 | 22,600 | 21,661 | 939 | 1,286 | 269 | 22,733 | 11,752 |
| Hampshire, | 4,653 | 4,377 | 4,013 | 564 | 346 | 23 | 4,413 | 2,444 |
| Hampden, | 8,730 | 8,714 | 7,897 | 817 | 565 | 52 | 8,714 | 6,593 |
| Franklin, | 3,964 | 3,893 | 3,676 | 217 | 345 | 11 | 3,895 | 2,416 |
| Berkshire, | 6,106 | 6,259 | 5,901 | 358 | 328 | 14 | 6,311 | 5,288 |
| Norfolk, | 9,739 | 9,111 | 8,351 | 760 | 625 | 142 | 9,719 | 6,649 |
| Plymouth, | 8,557 | 8,011 | 7,653 | 358 | 743 | 187 | 8,162 | 4,150 |
| Bristol, | 12,680 | 12,693 | 12,291 | 402 | 721 | 299 | 12,812 | 6,075 |
| Barnstable, | 3,159 | 3,288 | 3,144 | 144 | 162 | 31 | 3,296 | 818 |
| Dukes, | 522 | 583 | 568 | 15 | 63 | 12 | 583 | 187 |
| Nantucket, | 381 | 347 | 328 | 19 | 17 | 1 | 349 | 195 |
| Total, | 160,092 | 159,345 | 146,724 | 12,621 | 9,923 | 1,881 | 163,148 | 111,829 |

In computing the votes lost to the Republican party by the nomination of a candidate deemed unworthy of support by some, attention must be paid to several factors. The falling off in the total vote for governor from the gubernatorial vote for 1883, was from 312,357 to 304,113, or a loss of 8,244; but as 1883 was exceptional in Massachusetts politics, and as it is probable that there would have been a falling off in the total vote, even if an unobjectionable candidate had been nominated, 3,000 votes are believed to be a moderate estimate of the dissatisfied Republicans who stayed at home or failed to vote for electors while voting the State ticket. The total electoral vote in 1880 was 282,395. In 1884 it was 303,383, an increase of 20,988. According to the proportional vote of 1880, the Republican share of this increase would have been 12,430, and the Democratic, 8,558. But, as the tendency of politics since 1880 in Massachusetts has been to strengthen the Democrats rather than the Republicans, only 8,000 are taken as the Republican share of the increase. As to the Democratic vote for Blaine, the secretary of the State Blaine and Logan Club, who was as familiar with the organization of Blaine clubs among the Democratic voters as any one, asserts that Blaine had 21,000 Democratic votes. Other Republican estimates agree that 15,000 would be a moderate estimate. So that, if Blaine had held the Garfield vote of 165,205, and had the Republican increase in addition to the 15,000 he received from the Democrats, his vote would have been 191,205. His actual vote was 146,724, or a loss of 44,481. On an apparently safe calculation, that is approximately the number of voters who refused to stand by their party against their convictions, whether or not those convictions were right.

THE VOTE OF THE COUNTRY.

Below are given the votes in the several States for Blaine and Cleveland, compared with the vote of 1880; also the total vote for St. John and Butler, as far as reported. The fusion vote in Michigan and Iowa is credited to Cleveland, and in West Virginia and Missouri to Blaine: —

| STATES. | 1884. | | | | 1880. | | | |
|----------------------|-----------|------------|---------|-----------|-----------|-----------|---------|--------|
| | Blaine. | Cleveland. | Butler. | St. John. | Garfield. | Hancock. | Weaver. | Dow. |
| Alabama | 50,444 | 92,973 | 762 | 610 | 56,221 | 91,185 | 4,642 | ..... |
| Arkansas | 50,895 | 72,927 | 1,847 | ..... | 42,436 | 60,775 | 4,079 | ..... |
| California | 102,416 | 89,288 | 2,017 | 2,920 | 80,348 | 80,426 | 3,392 | ..... |
| Colorado | 36,277 | 27,627 | 1,957 | 759 | 27,450 | 24,647 | 1,435 | ..... |
| Connecticut | 65,898 | 67,182 | 1,685 | 2,494 | 67,071 | 64,415 | 868 | 409 |
| Delaware | 12,778 | 17,054 | 6 | 55 | 14,133 | 15,275 | 120 | ..... |
| Florida | 28,031 | 31,769 | ..... | 74 | 23,654 | 27,964 | ..... | ..... |
| Georgia | 47,603 | 94,567 | 125 | 184 | 54,086 | 120,470 | 969 | ..... |
| Illinois | 340,497 | 312,314 | 10,910 | 12,074 | 318,037 | 277,321 | 26,358 | 443 |
| Indiana | 238,480 | 244,992 | 8,293 | 3,018 | 232,164 | 225,525 | 12,986 | ..... |
| Iowa | 197,082 | 177,286 | ..... | 1,472 | 183,927 | 105,845 | 32,701 | 592 |
| Kansas | 154,406 | 90,132 | 16,346 | 4,495 | 121,549 | 59,801 | 19,851 | 25 |
| Kentucky | 118,674 | 152,757 | 1,655 | 3,106 | 106,306 | 149,068 | 11,499 | 258 |
| Louisiana | 46,347 | 62,546 | 120 | 338 | 38,637 | 65,067 | 439 | ..... |
| Maine | 72,209 | 52,140 | 3,953 | 2,160 | 74,039 | 65,171 | 4,408 | 93 |
| Maryland | 85,699 | 96,932 | 531 | 2,794 | 78,515 | 93,706 | 818 | ..... |
| Massachusetts | 146,724 | 122,352 | 24,382 | 9,923 | 165,205 | 111,960 | 4,548 | 682 |
| Michigan | 192,699 | 189,361 | 763 | 18,403 | 185,341 | 131,597 | 34,895 | 942 |
| Minnesota | 111,685 | 70,065 | 3,583 | 4,684 | 93,903 | 53,315 | 3,267 | 286 |
| Mississippi | 42,774 | 78,547 | ..... | ..... | 34,854 | 75,750 | 5,797 | ..... |
| Missouri | 202,029 | 235,988 | ..... | 2,153 | 153,567 | 208,609 | 35,135 | ..... |
| Nebraska | 76,877 | 54,354 | ..... | 2,858 | 54,979 | 28,523 | 3,950 | ..... |
| Nevada | 7,193 | 5,577 | ..... | ..... | 8,732 | 9,613 | ..... | ..... |
| New Hampshire | 43,249 | 39,192 | 552 | 1,575 | 44,852 | 40,794 | 528 | 180 |
| New Jersey | 123,436 | 127,798 | 3,467 | 6,150 | 120,555 | 122,565 | 2,617 | 191 |
| New York | 562,005 | 563,154 | 17,064 | 25,003 | 555,544 | 534,511 | 12,373 | 1,517 |
| North Carolina | 125,068 | 142,905 | ..... | 448 | 115,874 | 124,208 | 1,126 | ..... |
| Ohio | 400,082 | 368,280 | 5,179 | 11,069 | 375,048 | 340,821 | 6,456 | 2,616 |
| Oregon | 26,852 | 24,593 | 723 | 488 | 20,619 | 19,948 | 249 | ..... |
| Pennsylvania | 474,268 | 393,747 | 16,992 | 15,306 | 444,704 | 407,428 | 20,668 | 1,939 |
| Rhode Island | 19,030 | 12,394 | 422 | 928 | 18,195 | 10,779 | 236 | 20 |
| South Carolina | 21,733 | 69,890 | ..... | ..... | 58,071 | 112,312 | 566 | ..... |
| Tennessee | 124,078 | 133,258 | 957 | 1,131 | 107,677 | 128,191 | 5,917 | 43 |
| Texas | 88,353 | 223,208 | 3,321 | 3,511 | 57,893 | 156,428 | 27,405 | ..... |
| Vermont | 38,411 | 17,342 | 785 | 1,612 | 45,567 | 18,316 | 1,215 | ..... |
| Virginia | 139,356 | 145,497 | ..... | 143 | 84,020 | 128,586 | ..... | ..... |
| West Virginia | 63,913 | 67,331 | 805 | 927 | 46,243 | 57,391 | 9,079 | ..... |
| Wisconsin | 161,157 | 146,477 | 4,598 | 7,656 | 144,400 | 114,649 | 7,986 | 69 |
| Total | 4,847,659 | 4,913,772 | 133,880 | 150,633 | 4,454,416 | 4,444,952 | 308,578 | 10,305 |
| Plurality ..... | ..... | 66,113 | ..... | ..... | 9,464 | ..... | ..... | ..... |

A LITTLE CELEBRATION.

On the evening of Nov. 8 a meeting of the Massachusetts Reform Club was held at the Hotel Vendôme. Mr. John S. Farlow was in the chair, and there was a satisfactory celebration of the victory. Among those present were the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, Colonel Lyman, Mr. A. J. C. Sowdon, Colonel Higginson, the Hon. Leverett Saltonstall, Mr. Robert Blaikie, Mr. Edward Atkinson, Mr. G. F. Williams, Dr. William Everett, Mr. J. B. Gardner, Mr. Chauncey Smith, Mr. Carl Zerrahn, Mr. E. H. Clement, Mr. Winslow Warren, Mr. John C. Dodge, the Rev. Henry Lambert, the Rev. I. N. Tarbox, Mr. Josiah Quincy, Mr. Francis B. Tiffany, and others. Speeches were made by Messrs. Clarke, Lyman, Higginson, Sowdon, G. F. Williams, and others.

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